

GEORGI DIMITROV
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DIMITROV

SELECTED
WORKS

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GEORGI

SELECTED
WORKS
IN THREE
VOLUMES

DIMITROV

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WORKS

VOLUME 2

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THE FASCIST OFFENSIVE AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM*

*Report before the Seventh World Congress of the Communist
International delivered on August 2, 1935*

FASCISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

Comrades, as early as the Sixth Congress, the Communist International warned the world proletariat that a new fascist offensive was under way and called for a struggle against it. The Congress pointed out that 'in a more or less developed form, fascist tendencies and the germs of a fascist movement are to be found almost everywhere.'

With the development of the very deep economic crisis with the general crisis of capitalism becoming sharply accentuated and the mass of working people becoming revolutionized, fascism has embarked upon a wide offensive. The ruling bourgeoisie more and more seeks salvation in fascism, with the object of taking exceptional predatory measures against the working people, preparing for an imperialist war of plunder, attacking the Soviet Union, enslaving and partitioning China, and by all these means preventing revolution.

The imperialist circles are trying to shift the *whole* burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working people. *That is why they need fascism.*

They are trying to solve the problem of markets by enslaving the weak nations, by intensifying colonial oppression and repartitioning the world anew by means of war. *That is why they need fascism.*

* Slightly abridged

They are striving to *forestall* the growth of the forces of revolution by smashing the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants and by undertaking a military attack against the Soviet Union – the bulwark of the world proletariat. *That is why they need fascism.*

In a number of countries, Germany in particular, these imperialist circles have succeeded, *before* the masses had decisively turned towards revolution, in inflicting defeat on the proletariat, and establishing a fascist dictatorship.

But it is characteristic of the victory of fascism that this victory, on the one hand, bears witness to the weakness of the proletariat disorganized and paralyzed by the disruptive policy of Social-Democracy, by its class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and, on the other, expresses the weakness of the bourgeoisie itself, afraid of the realization of a united struggle of the working class, afraid of revolution, and no longer in a position to maintain its dictatorship over the masses by the old methods of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism.

THE CLASS CHARACTER OF FASCISM

Comrades, fascism in power was correctly described by the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International *as the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital.*

The most reactionary variety of fascism is the *German type* of fascism. It has the effrontery to call itself National-Socialism, though it has nothing in common with socialism. German fascism is *not only* bourgeois nationalism, it is fiendish chauvinism. It is a government system of political gangsterism, a system of provocation and torture practised upon the working class and the revolutionary elements of the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. It is medieval barbarity and bestiality, it is unbridled aggression in relation to other nations.

German fascism is acting *as the spearhead of international counter-revolution, as the chief instigator of imperialist war, as the*

initiator of a crusade against the Soviet Union, the great fatherland of the working people of the whole world.

Fascism is not a form of state power 'standing above both classes – the proletariat and the bourgeoisie,' as Otto Bauer, for instance, has asserted. It is not 'the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie which has captured the machinery of the state,' as the British Socialist Brailsford declares. No, fascism is not a power standing above class, nor a power of the petty bourgeoisie or the *lumpen-proletariat* over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself. It is the organization of terrorist vengeance against the working class and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia. In foreign policy, fascism is jingoism in its most brutal form, fomenting bestial hatred of other nations.

This, the true character of fascism, must be particularly stressed because in a number of countries, under cover of social demagogy, fascism has managed to gain the following of the mass of the petty bourgeoisie that has been dislocated by the crisis, and even of certain sections of the most backward strata of the proletariat. These would never have supported fascism had they grasped its real character and its true nature.

The development of fascism, and the fascist dictatorship itself, assume *different forms* in different countries, according to historical, social and economic conditions and to the national peculiarities, and the international position of the given country. In certain countries, principally those in which fascism has no broad mass basis and in which the struggle of the various groups within the camp of the fascist bourgeoisie itself is rather acute, fascism does not immediately venture to abolish parliament, but allows the other bourgeois parties, as well as the Social-Democratic Parties, to retain a modicum of legality. In other countries, where the ruling bourgeoisie fears an *early* outbreak of revolution, fascism establishes its unrestricted political monopoly, either immediately or by intensifying its reign of terror against and persecution of all rival parties and groups. This does not prevent fascism, when its position becomes *particularly* acute, from trying to extend its basis and, without altering its class nature, trying to *combine* open

terrorist dictatorship with a crude sham of parliamentarism.

The accession to power of fascism is not an *ordinary succession* of one bourgeois government by another, but a *substitution* of one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie – bourgeois democracy – by another form – open terrorist dictatorship. It would be a serious mistake to ignore this distinction, a mistake liable to prevent the revolutionary proletariat from mobilizing the widest strata of the working people of town and country for the struggle against the menace of the seizure of power by the fascists, and from taking advantage of the contradictions which exist in the camp of the bourgeoisie itself. But it is a mistake, no less serious and dangerous, to *underrate* the importance, for the establishment of fascist dictatorship, of the *reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie at present increasingly developing in bourgeois-democratic countries* – measures which suppress the democratic liberties of the working people, falsify and curtail the rights of parliament and intensify the repression of the revolutionary movement.

Comrades, the accession to power of fascism must not be conceived of in so simplified and smooth a form, as though some committee or other of finance capital decided on a certain date to set up a fascist dictatorship. In reality, fascism usually comes to power in the course of a mutual, and at times severe, struggle against the old bourgeois parties, or a definite section of these parties, in the course of a struggle even within the fascist camp itself – a struggle which at times leads to armed clashes, as we have witnessed in the case of Germany, Austria and other countries. All this, however, does not make less important the fact that, before the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, bourgeois governments usually pass through a number of preliminary stages and adopt a number of reactionary measures which directly facilitate the accession to power of fascism. Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at these preparatory stages *is not in a position to prevent the victory of fascism, but, on the contrary, facilitates that victory.*

The Social-Democratic leaders glossed over and con-

cealed from the masses the true class nature of fascism, and did not call them to the struggle against the increasingly reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie. They bear great *historical responsibility* for the fact that, at the decisive moment of the fascist offensive, a large section of the working people of Germany and of a number of other fascist countries failed to recognize in fascism bloodthirsty, rapacious finance capital, their most vicious enemy, and that these masses were not prepared to resist it.

What is the source of the influence of fascism over the masses? Fascism is able to attract the masses because it demagogically appeals to their *most urgent needs and demands*. Fascism not only inflames prejudices that are deeply ingrained in the masses, but also plays on the better sentiments of the masses, on their sense of justice, and sometimes even on their revolutionary traditions. Why do the German fascists, those lackeys of the bourgeoisie and mortal enemies of socialism, represent themselves to the masses as 'Socialists,' and depict their accession to power as a 'revolution'? Because they try to exploit the faith in revolution and the urge towards socialism that lives in the hearts of the mass of working people in Germany.

Fascism acts in the interests of the extreme imperialists, but it presents itself to the masses in the guise of champion of a wronged nation, and appeals to outraged national sentiments, as German fascism did, for instance, when it won the support of the masses of the petty bourgeoisie by the slogan 'Down with the Versailles Treaty.'

Fascism aims at the most unbridled exploitation of the masses, but it approaches them with the most artful anticapitalist demagogy, taking advantage of the deep hatred of the working people against the predatory bourgeoisie, the banks, trusts and financial magnates, and advancing those slogans which at the given moment are most alluring to the politically immature masses. In Germany – 'The general welfare is higher than the welfare of the individual,' in Italy – 'Our state is not a capitalist, but a corporate state,' in Japan – 'For Japan without exploitation,' in the United States – 'Share the wealth,' and so forth.

Fascism places the people at the mercy of the most corrupt and venal elements, but comes before them with the demand for 'an honest and incorruptible government.' Speculating on the profound disillusionment of the masses in bourgeois-democratic governments, fascism hypocritically denounces corruption (for instance, the Bar-mat and Sklarek affairs in Germany, the Stavisky affair in France, and numerous others).

It is in the interests of the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie that fascism intercepts the disappointed masses who desert the old bourgeois parties. But it impresses these masses by the *vehemence of its attacks* on the bourgeois governments and its irreconcilable attitude to the old bourgeois parties.

Surpassing in its cynicism and hypocrisy all other varieties of bourgeois reaction, *fascism adapts* its demagogy to the national *peculiarities* of each country, and even to the peculiarities of the various social strata in one and the same country. And the mass of the petty bourgeoisie and even a section of the workers, reduced to despair by want, unemployment and the insecurity of their existence, fall victim to the social and chauvinist demagogy of fascism.

Fascism comes to power as a party of attack on the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, on the mass of the people who are in a state of unrest; yet it stages its accession to power as a 'revolutionary' movement against the bourgeoisie on behalf of 'the whole nation' and for the 'salvation' of the nation. One recalls Mussolini's 'march' on Rome, Pilsudski's 'march' on Warsaw, Hitler's National-Socialist 'revolution' in Germany, and so forth.

But whatever the masks which fascism adopts, whatever the forms in which it presents itself, whatever the ways by which it comes to power –

Fascism is a most ferocious attack by capital on the mass of the working people;

Fascism is unbridled chauvinism and predatory war;

Fascism is rabid reaction and counter-revolution;

Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all working people.

WHAT DOES FASCIST VICTORY BRING TO THE MASSES?

Fascism promised the workers 'a fair wage,' but actually it has brought them an even lower, a pauper standard of living. It promised work for the unemployed, but actually it has brought them even more painful forments of starvation and forced servile labour. In practice it converts the workers and unemployed into pariahs of capitalist society stripped of rights; destroys their trade unions; deprives them of the right to strike and to have their working-class press, forces them into fascist organizations, plunders their social insurance funds and transforms the mills and factories into barracks where the unbridled arbitrary rule of the capitalist reigns.

Fascism promised the working youth a broad highway to a brilliant future. But actually it has brought wholesale dismissals of young workers, labour camps and incessant military drilling for a predatory war.

Fascism promised to guarantee *office workers, petty officials and intellectuals* security of existence, to destroy the omnipotence of the trusts and wipe out profiteering by bank capital. But actually it has brought them an ever greater degree of despair and uncertainty as to the morrow; it is subjecting them to a new bureaucracy made up of the most submissive of its followers, it is setting up an intolerable dictatorship of the trusts and spreading corruption and degeneration to an unprecedented extent.

Fascism promised the ruined and impoverished *peasants* to put an end to debt bondage, to abolish rent and even to expropriate the landed estates without compensation, in the interests of the landless and ruined peasants. But actually it is placing the labouring peasants in a state of unprecedented servitude to the trusts and the fascist state apparatus, and pushes to the utmost limit the exploitation of the great mass of the peasantry by the big landowners, the banks and the usurers.

'Germany will be a peasant country, or will not be at all,' Hitler solemnly declared. And what did the peasants of Germany get under Hitler? The moratorium¹, which has already been cancelled? Or the law on the inheritance of

peasant property, which leads to millions of sons and daughters of peasants being squeezed out of the villages and reduced to paupers? Farm labourers have been transformed into semi-serfs, deprived even of the elementary right of free movement. The working peasants have been deprived of the opportunity of selling the produce of their farms in the market.

And in Poland?

The Polish peasant, says the Polish newspaper *Czas*, employs methods and means which were used perhaps only in the Middle Ages; he nurses the fire in his stove and lends it to his neighbour; he splits matches into several parts; he lends dirty soapwater to others; he boils herring barrels in order to obtain salt water. This is not a fable, but the actual state of affairs in the countryside, of the truth of which anybody may convince himself.

And it is not Communists who write this, Comrades, but a Polish reactionary newspaper.

But this is by no means all.

Every day, in the concentration camps of fascist Germany, in the cellars of the Gestapo (German secret police), in the torture chambers of Poland, in the cells of the Bulgarian and Finnish secret police, in the *Glavnyacha* in Belgrade, in the Romanian *Siguranza* and on the Italian islands, the best sons of the working class, revolutionary peasants, fighters for the splendid future of mankind, are being subjected to revolting tortures and indignities, before which pale the most abominable acts of the tsarist *Okhranka*². The blackguardly German fascists beat husbands to a bloody pulp in the presence of their wives, and send the ashes of murdered sons by parcel post to their mothers. Sterilization has been made a method of political warfare. In the torture chambers, imprisoned anti-fascists are given injections of poison, their arms are broken, their eyes gouged out; they are strung up and have water pumped into them; the fascist *swastika* is carved in their living flesh.

I have before me a statistical summary drawn up by the International Red Aid regarding the number of killed, wounded, arrested, maimed and tortured to death in Germany, Poland, Italy, Austria, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. In

Germany alone, since the National-Socialists came to power, over 4,200 anti-fascist workers, peasants, employees, intellectuals – Communists, Social Democrats and members of opposition Christian organizations – have been murdered, 317,800 arrested, 218,600 injured and subjected to torture. In Austria, since the battles of February last year the 'Christian' fascist government has murdered 1,900 revolutionary workers, maimed and injured 10,000 and arrested 40,000. And this summary, Comrades, is far from complete.

Words fail me in describing the indignation which seizes us at the thought of the torment which the working people are now undergoing in a number of fascist countries. The facts and figures we quote do not reflect *one hundredth part of the true picture* of the exploitation and tortures inflicted by the White terror and forming part of the daily life of the working class in many capitalist countries. Volumes cannot give a just picture of the countless brutalities inflicted by fascism on the working people.

With feelings of profound emotion and hatred for the fascist butchers, we dip the banners of the Communist International before the unforgettable memory of Jonn Scheer, Fiete Schulze and Luetgens in Germany, Koloman Wallisch and Muenichreiter in Austria, Sallai and Fuerst in Hungary, Kofardjiev, Lyutibrodski and Voykov in Bulgaria – before the memory of thousands and thousands of Communists, Social-Democrats and non-party workers, peasants and representatives of the progressive intelligentsia who have laid down their lives in the struggle against fascism.

From this platform we greet the leader of the German proletariat and the honorary chairman of our Congress – Comrade Thaelmann. We greet Comrades Rakosi, Gramsci, Antikainen. We greet Tom Mooney, who has been languishing in prison for eighteen years, and the thousands of other prisoners of capitalism and fascism, and we say to them: 'Brothers in the fight, brothers in arms, you are not forgotten. We are with you. We shall give every hour of our lives, every drop of our blood, for your liberation, and for

the liberation of all working people from the shameful regime of fascism.'

Comrades, it was Lenin who warned us that the bourgeoisie may succeed in overwhelming the working people by savage terror, in checking the growing forces of revolution for brief periods of time, but that, nevertheless, this would not save it from its doom.

Life will assert itself, Lenin wrote. Let the bourgeoisie rave, work itself into a frenzy, overdo things, commit stupidities, take vengeance on the Bolsheviks in advance and endeavour to kill off (in India, Hungary, Germany, etc.) hundreds, thousands and hundreds of thousands more of yesterday's and tomorrow's Bolsheviks. Acting thus, the bourgeoisie acts as all classes doomed by history have acted. Communists should know that the future, at any rate, belongs to them; therefore we can and must combine the most intense passion in the great revolutionary struggle with the coolest and most sober evaluation of the mad ravings of the bourgeoisie.*

Ay, if we and the proletariat of the whole world firmly follow the path indicated by Lenin, the bourgeoisie will perish in spite of everything.

IS THE VICTORY OF FASCISM INEVITABLE?

Why was it that fascism could triumph, and how?

Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and working people, who constitute nine-tenths of the German people, nine-tenths of the Austrian people, nine-tenths of the people in other fascist countries. How, in what way, could this vicious enemy triumph?

Fascism was able to come to power *primarily* because the working class, owing to the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie pursued by the Social-Democratic leaders, *proved to be split, politically and organizationally disarmed*, in face of the onslaught of the bourgeoisie. And the Communist Parties, on the other hand, apart from and in opposition to the Social-Democrats, *were not strong enough* to rouse the masses and to lead them in a decisive struggle against fascism.

* V.I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 81 (Russian edition); 'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder (English edition).

And, indeed, let the millions of Social-Democratic workers, who together with their Communist brothers are now experiencing the horrors of fascist barbarism, seriously reflect on the following: If, in 1918, when revolution broke out in Germany and Austria, the Austrian and German proletariat had not followed the Social Democratic leadership of Otto Bauer, Friedrich Adler and Karl Renner in Austria and Ebert and Scheidemann in Germany, but had followed the road of the Russian Bolsheviks, the road of Lenin, there would now be no fascism in Austria or Germany, in Italy or Hungary, in Poland or in the Balkans. Not the bourgeoisie, but the working class would long ago have been the master of the situation in Europe.

Take, for example, the *Austrian Social Democratic Party*. The revolution of 1918 raised it to a tremendous height. It held the power in its hands, it held strong positions in the army and in the state apparatus. Relying on these positions, it could have nipped fascism in the bud. But it surrendered one position of the working class after another without resistance. It allowed the bourgeoisie to strengthen its power, annul the constitution, purge the state apparatus, army and police force of Social Democratic functionaries, and take the arsenals away from the workers. It allowed the fascist bandits to murder Social Democratic workers with impunity and accepted the terms of the Hüttenberg Pact³, which gave the fascist elements entry to the factories. At the same time the Social Democratic leaders fooled the workers with the Linz programme⁴, which contained the alternative possibility of using armed force against the bourgeoisie and establishing the proletarian dictatorship, assuring them that in the event of the ruling class using force against the working class, the Party would reply by a call for general strike and for armed struggle. As though the whole policy of preparation for a fascist attack on the working class were not one chain of acts of violence against the working class masked by constitutional forms. Even on the eve and in the course of the February battles the Austrian Social Democratic leaders left the heroically fighting Schutzbund⁵ isolated

from the broad masses, and doomed the Austrian proletariat to defeat.

Was the victory of fascism inevitable in *Germany*? No, the German working class could have prevented it.

But in order to do so, it should have achieved a united anti-fascist proletarian front, and forced the Social Democratic leaders to discontinue their campaign against the Communists and to accept the repeated proposals of the Communist Party for united action against fascism.

When fascism was on the offensive and the bourgeois-democratic liberties were being progressively abolished by the bourgeoisie, it should not have contented itself with the verbal resolutions of the Social Democrats, but should have replied by a genuine mass struggle, which would have made the fulfilment of the fascist plans of the German bourgeoisie more difficult.

It should not have allowed the prohibition of the League of Red Front Fighters by the government of Braun and Severing⁶, and should have established fighting contact between the League and the Reichsbanner⁷, with its nearly one million members, and should have compelled Braun and Severing to arm both these organizations in order to resist and smash the fascist bands.

It should have compelled the Social Democratic leaders who headed the Prussian government to adopt measures of defence against fascism, arrest the fascist leaders, close down their press, confiscate their material resources and the resources of the capitalists who were financing the fascist movement, dissolve the fascist organizations, deprive them of their weapons, and so forth.

Furthermore, it should have secured the re-establishment and extension of all forms of social assistance and the introduction of a moratorium and crisis benefits for the peasants – who were being ruined under the impact of crisis – by taxing the banks and the trusts, in this way winning the support of the working peasants. It was the fault of the Social Democrats of Germany that this was not done, and that is why fascism *was able* to triumph.

Was it inevitable that the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy should have triumphed in Spain, a country

where the forces of proletarian revolt are so advantageously combined with a peasant war?

The Spanish Socialists were in the government from the first days of the revolution. Did they establish fighting contact between the working class organizations of every political opinion, including the Communists and the Anarchists, and did they weld the working class into a united trade union organization? Did they demand the confiscation of all lands of the landlords, the church and the monasteries in favour of the peasants in order to win over the latter to the side of the revolution? Did they attempt to fight for national self-determination for the Catalonians and the Basques, and for the liberation of Morocco? Did they purge the army of monarchist and fascist elements and prepare it for passing over to the side of the workers and peasants? Did they dissolve the Civil Guard, so detested by the people, the executioner of every movement of the people? Did they strike at the fascist party of Gil Robles and at the might of the Catholic church? No, they did none of these things. They rejected the frequent proposals of the Communists for united action against the offensive of the bourgeois-landlord reaction and fascism; they passed election laws which enabled the reactionaries to gain a majority in the Cortes (parliament), laws which penalized the popular movement, laws under which the heroic miners of Asturias are now being tried. They had peasants who were fighting for land shot by the Civil Guard, and so on.

This is the way in which the Social Democrats, by disorganizing and splitting the ranks of the working class, cleared the path to power for fascism in Germany, Austria and Spain.

Comrades, fascism *also attained power* for the reason that the proletariat found itself isolated from its natural allies. Fascism attained power because it was able to win over *large masses of the peasantry*, owing to the fact that the Social Democrats, in the name of the working class, pursued what was in fact an anti-peasant policy. The peasant saw in power a number of Social Democratic governments, which in his eyes were an embodiment of the power of the

working class: but not one of them put an end to peasant want, none of them gave land to the peasantry. In Germany, the Social Democrats did not touch the landlords; they combated the strikes of the farm labourers, with the result that long before Hitler came to power the farm labourers of Germany were deserting the reformist trade unions and in the majority of cases were going over to the Stahlhelm and to the National Socialists.

Fascism also attained power for the reason that it was able to penetrate into the ranks of the youth, whereas the Social Democrats diverted the working class youth from the class struggle, while the revolutionary proletariat did not develop the necessary educational work among the youth and did not pay enough attention to the struggle for its specific interests and demands. Fascism grasped the very acute need of the youth for militant activity, and enticed a considerable section of the youth into its fighting detachments. The new generation of young men and women has not experienced the horrors of war. They have felt the full weight of the economic crisis, unemployment and the disintegration of bourgeois democracy. But, seeing no prospects for the future, large sections of the youth proved to be particularly receptive to fascist demagogy, which depicted for them an alluring future should fascism succeed.

In this connection, we cannot avoid referring also to a number of *mistakes made by the Communist Parties*, mistakes that hampered our struggle against fascism.

In our ranks there was an impermissible underestimation of the fascist danger, a tendency which to this day has not everywhere been overcome. A case in point is the opinion formerly to be met with in our Parties that 'Germany is not Italy,' meaning that fascism may have succeeded in Italy, but that its success in Germany was out of the question, because the latter is an industrially and culturally highly developed country, with forty years of traditions of the working-class movement, in which fascism was impossible. Or the kind of opinion which is to be met with nowadays, to the effect that in countries of 'classical' bourgeois democracy the soil for fascism does not exist.

Such opinions have served and may serve to relax vigilance towards the fascist danger, and to render the mobilization of the proletariat in the struggle against fascism more difficult.

One might also cite quite a few instances where Communists were taken unawares by the fascist coup. Remember Bulgaria, where the leadership of our Party, took up a 'neutral,' but in fact opportunist, position with regard to the *coup d'état* of June 9, 1923; Poland, where in May 1926 the leadership of the Communist Party, making a wrong estimate of the motive forces of the Polish revolution, did not realize the fascist nature of Pilsudski's *coup*, and trailed in the rear of events; Finland, where our Party based itself on a false conception of slow and gradual fascization and overlooked the fascist coup which was being prepared by the leading group of the bourgeoisie and which took the Party and the working class unawares.

When National Socialism had already become a menacing mass movement in Germany, there were comrades who regarded the Bruening government as already a government of fascist dictatorship, and who boastfully declared: 'If Hitler's Third Reich ever comes about, it will be six feet underground, and above it will be the victorious power of the workers.'

Our comrades in Germany for a long time failed to fully reckon with the wounded national sentiments and the indignation of the masses against the Versailles Treaty; they treated as of little account the waverings of the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie; they were late in drawing up their programme of social and national emancipation, and when they did put it forward they were unable to adapt it to the concrete demands and to the level of the masses. They were even unable to popularize it widely among the masses.

In a number of countries, the necessary development of a mass fight against fascism was replaced by *barren debates* on the nature of fascism 'in general' and by a narrow sectarian attitude in formulating and solving the immediate political tasks of the Party.

Comrades, it is not simply because we want to dig up

the past that we speak of the causes of the victory of fascism, that we point to the historical responsibility of the Social Democrats for the defeat of the working class, and that we also point out our own mistakes in the fight against fascism. We are not historians divorced from living reality; we, active fighters of the working class, are obliged to answer the question that is tormenting millions of workers: *Can the victory of fascism be prevented, and how?* And we reply to these millions of workers: Yes, Comrades, the road to fascism can be blocked. It is quite possible. It depends on ourselves – on the workers, the peasants and all working people.

Whether the victory of fascism can be prevented depends *first and foremost* on the militant activity of the working class itself, on whether its forces are welded into a single militant army combating the offensive of capitalism and fascism. By establishing its fighting unity, the proletariat would paralyze the influence of fascism over the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the youth and the intelligentsia, and would be able to neutralize one section of them and win over the other section.

Second, it depends on the existence of a strong revolutionary party, correctly leading the struggle of the working people against fascism. A party which systematically calls on the workers to retreat in the face of fascism and permits the fascist bourgeoisie to strengthen its positions is doomed to lead the workers to defeat.

Third, it depends on a correct policy of the working class towards the peasantry and the petty-bourgeois masses of the towns. These masses must be taken as they are, and not as we should like to have them. It is only in the process of the struggle that they will overcome their doubts and waverings. It is only by a patient attitude towards their inevitable waverings, it is only by the political help of the proletariat, that they will be able to rise to a higher level of revolutionary consciousness and activity.

Fourth, it depends on the vigilance and timely action of the revolutionary proletariat. The latter must not allow fascism to take it unawares, it must not surrender the initiative to fascism, but must inflict decisive blows on it

before it can gather its forces, it must not allow fascism to consolidate its position, it must repel fascism wherever and whenever it rears its head, it must not allow fascism to gain new positions. This is what the French proletariat is so successfully trying to do.

These are the main conditions for preventing the growth of fascism and its accession to power.

FASCISM – A FEROCIOUS BUT UNSTABLE POWER

The fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is a ferocious power, but an unstable one.

What are the chief causes of the instability of fascist dictatorship?

Fascism undertakes to overcome the differences and antagonisms within the bourgeois camp, but it makes these antagonisms even more acute.

Fascism tries to establish its political monopoly by violently destroying other political parties. But the existence of the capitalist system, the existence of various classes and the accentuation of class contradictions inevitably tend to undermine and explode the political monopoly of fascism. This is not the case of a Soviet country, where the dictatorship of the proletariat is also realized by a party with a political monopoly, but where this political monopoly accords with the interests of millions of working people and is increasingly being based on the construction of a classless society. In a fascist country the party of the fascists cannot set itself the aim of abolishing classes and class contradictions. It puts an end to the legal existence of bourgeois parties. But a number of them continue to maintain an illegal existence, while the Communist Party even in conditions of illegality continues to make progress, becomes steeled and tempered and leads the struggle of the proletariat against the fascist dictatorship. Hence, under the blows of class contradictions, the political monopoly of fascism is bound to explode.

Another reason for the instability of the fascist dictatorship is that the contrast between the anti-capitalist

demagoguery of fascism and its policy of enriching the monopolist bourgeoisie in the most piratical fashion makes it easier to expose the class nature of fascism and tends to shake and narrow its mass basis.

Furthermore, the victory of fascism arouses the deep hatred and indignation of the masses, helps to revolutionize them, and provides a powerful stimulus for a united front of the proletariat against fascism.

By pursuing a policy of economic nationalism (autarchy) and by seizing the greater part of the national income for the purpose of preparing for war, fascism undermines the whole economic life of the country and accentuates the economic war between the capitalist states. To the conflicts that arise among the bourgeoisie it lends the character of sharp and at times bloody collisions that undermine the stability of the fascist state power in the eyes of the people. A government which murders its own followers, as happened in Germany of June 30th of last year, a fascist government against which another section of the fascist bourgeoisie is conducting an armed fight (the National Socialist putsch in Austria and the violent attacks of individual fascist groups on the fascist government in Poland, Bulgaria, Finland and other countries) — a government of this character cannot for long maintain its authority in the eyes of the broad mass of the petty bourgeoisie.

The working class must be able to take advantage of the antagonisms and conflicts within the bourgeois camp, but it must not cherish the illusion that fascism will exhaust itself of its own accord. Fascism will not collapse automatically. Only the revolutionary activity of the working class can help to take advantage of the conflicts which inevitably arise within the bourgeois camp in order to undermine the fascist dictatorship and to overthrow it.

By destroying the relics of bourgeois democracy, by elevating open violence to a system of government, fascism shakes democratic illusions and undermines the authority of the law in the eyes of the working people. This is particularly true in countries such as Austria and Spain, where the workers have taken up arms against fascism. In Austria, the heroic struggle of the Schutzbund and the

Communists, in spite of its defeat, shook the stability of the fascist dictatorship from the very outset.

In Spain, the bourgeoisie did not succeed in putting the fascist muzzle on the working people. The armed struggles in Austria and Spain have resulted in ever wider masses of the working class coming to realize the necessity for a revolutionary class struggle.

Only such monstrous philistines, such lackeys of the bourgeoisie, as the superannuated theoretician of the Second International, Karl Kautsky, are capable of casting reproaches at the workers, to the effect that they should not have taken up arms in Austria and Spain. What would the working class movement in Austria and Spain look like today if the working class of these countries were guided by the treacherous counsels of the Kautskys? The working class would be experiencing profound demoralization in its ranks.

'The school of civil war,' Lenin says, 'does not leave the people unaffected. It is a harsh school, and its complete curriculum inevitably includes the victories of the counter-revolution, the debaucheries of enraged reactionaries, savage punishments meted out by the old governments to the rebels, etc. But only downright pedants and mentally decrepit mummies can grieve over the fact that nations are entering this painful school; this school teaches the oppressed classes how to conduct civil war; it teaches how to bring about a victorious revolution; it concentrates in the masses of present-day slaves that hatred which is always harboured by the downtrodden, dull, ignorant slaves, and which leads those slaves who have become conscious of the shame of their slavery to the greatest historic exploits.'*

The triumph of fascism in Germany has, as we know, been followed by a new wave of the fascist offensive, which in Austria led to the provocation by Dollfuss, in Spain to the new onslaughts of counter-revolution on the revolutionary conquests of the masses, in Poland to the fascist reform of the constitution, while in France it spurred the armed detachments of the fascists to attempt a coup d'état in February 1934. But this victory, and the frenzy of the fascist dictatorship, called forth a counter-movement

* V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 160

for a united proletarian front against fascism on an international scale.

The burning of the Reichstag, which served as a signal for the general attack of fascism on the working class, the seizure and spoliation of the trade unions and the other working class organizations, the groans of the tortured anti-fascists rising from the vaults of the fascist barracks and concentration camps, are making clear to the masses what has been the outcome of the reactionary, disruptive role played by the German Social Democratic leaders, who rejected the proposal made by the Communists for a joint struggle against advancing fascism. These things are convincing the masses of the necessity of uniting all forces of the working class for the overthrow of fascism.

Hitler's victory also provided a decisive stimulus for the creation of a united front of the working class against fascism in France. Hitler's victory not only aroused in the workers a fear of the fate that befell the German workers, not only kindled hatred for the executioners of their German class brothers, but also strengthened in them the determination never in any circumstances to allow in their country what happened to the working class in Germany.

The powerful urge towards a united front in all the capitalist countries shows that the lessons of defeat have not been in vain. The working class is beginning to act in a new way. The initiative shown by the Communist Parties in the organization of a united front and the supreme self-sacrifice displayed by the Communists, by the revolutionary workers in the struggle against fascism, have resulted in an unprecedented increase in the prestige of the Communist International. At the same time, the Second International is undergoing a profound crisis, a crisis which is particularly noticeable and has particularly accentuated since the bankruptcy of German Social Democracy. With ever greater ease the Social Democratic workers are able to convince themselves that fascist Germany, with all its horrors and barbarities, is in the final analysis the result of the Social Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie. These masses are coming ever more clearly to realize that the path along which the German Social

Democratic leaders led the proletariat must not be traversed again. Never has there been such ideological dissension in the camp of the Second International as at the present time. A process of differentiation is taking place in all Social Democratic Parties. Within their ranks two principal camps are forming: side by side with the existing camp of reactionary elements, who are trying in every way to preserve the bloc between the Social Democrats and the bourgeoisie, and who rabidly reject a united front with the Communists, there is beginning to emerge a camp of revolutionary elements who entertain doubts as to the correctness of the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, who are in favour of the creation of a united front with the Communists, and who are increasingly coming to adopt the position of the revolutionary class struggle.

Thus fascism, which appeared as the result of the decline of the capitalist system, in the long run acts as a factor in its further disintegration. Thus fascism, which has undertaken to bury Marxism, the revolutionary movement of the working class, is, as a result of the dialectics of life and the class struggle, itself leading to the further development of the forces that are bound to serve as its grave-diggers, the grave-diggers of capitalism.

II. UNITED FRONT OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM

Comrades, millions of workers and working people of the capitalist countries are asking the question: How can fascism be prevented from coming to power and how can fascism be overthrown after it has attained power? To this the Communist International replies: *The first thing that must be done, the thing with which to begin, is to form a united front, to establish unity of action of the workers in every factory, in every district, in every region, in every country, all over the world. Unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale is the mighty weapon which renders the working class capable not only of successful defence but also of successful counter-attack against fascism, against the class enemy.*

Is it not clear that joint action by the supporters of the parties and organizations of the two Internationals, the Communist and the Second International, would make it easier for the masses to repulse the fascist onslaught, and would heighten the political importance of the working class?

Joint action by the parties of both Internationals against fascism, however, would not be confined in its effects to influencing their present adherents, the Communists and Social Democrats; it would also exert a powerful impact on the ranks of the *Catholic, Anarchist and unorganized workers, even upon those who have temporarily become the victims of fascist demagoguery.*

Moreover, a powerful united front of the proletariat would exert tremendous influence on *all other strata of the working people*, on the peasantry, on the urban petty bourgeoisie, on the intelligentsia. A united front would inspire the wavering groups with faith in the strength of the working class.

But even this is not all. The proletariat of the imperialist countries has possible allies not only in the working people of its own countries, but also in the *oppressed nations of the colonies and semi-colonies*. Inasmuch as the proletariat is split both nationally and internationally, inasmuch as one of its parts supports the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, in particular its system of oppression in the colonies and semi-colonies, a barrier is put between the working class and the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies, and the world anti-imperialist front is weakened. Every step by the proletariat of the imperialist countries on the road to unity of action in the direction of supporting the struggle for the liberation of the colonial peoples means transforming the colonies and semi-colonies into one of the most important reserves of the world proletariat.

If, finally, we bear in mind that international unity of action by the proletariat relies on the steadily growing strength of the proletarian state, the land of socialism, the

Soviet Union, we see what broad perspectives are revealed by the realization of proletarian unity of action on a national and international scale.

The establishment of unity of action by all sections of the working class, irrespective of the party or organization to which they belong, is necessary *even before the majority of the working class is united in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the proletarian revolution.*

Is it possible to realize this unity of action of the proletariat in the individual countries and throughout the whole world? Yes, it is. And it is possible at this very moment. The Communist International *puts no conditions for unity of action except one, and at that an elementary condition acceptable to all workers, viz., that the unity of action be directed against fascism, against the offensive of capital, against the threat of war, against the class enemy.* This is our condition.

THE CHIEF ARGUMENTS OF THE OPPONENTS OF THE UNITED FRONT

What objections can the opponents of the united front have, and what objections do they voice?

Some say: 'The Communists use the slogan of the united front merely as a manoeuvre.' But if this is the case, we reply, why don't you expose this 'Communist manoeuvre' by your honest participation in the united front? We declare frankly: We want unity of action by the working class so that the proletariat may grow strong in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, in order that while defending today its current interests against attacking capital, against fascism, the proletariat may reach a position tomorrow to create the preliminary conditions for its final emancipation.

'The Communists attack us,' say others. But listen, we have repeatedly declared: 'We shall not attack anyone, whether persons, organizations or parties, standing for the united front of the working class against the class enemy. But at the same time it is our duty, in the interests of the proletariat and its cause, to criticize those persons, organizations and parties that hinder unity of action by the workers.'

'We cannot form a united front with the Communists, since they have a different programme,' says a third group. But you yourselves say that your programme differs from the programme of the bourgeois parties, and yet this did not and does not prevent you from entering into coalitions with these parties.

'The bourgeois-democratic parties are better allies against fascism than the Communists,' say the opponents of the united front and the advocates of coalition with the bourgeoisie. But what does Germany's experience teach? Did not the Social Democrats form a bloc with those 'better' allies? And what were the results?

'If we establish a united front with the Communists, the petty bourgeoisie will take fright at the "Red danger" and will desert to the fascists,' we hear it said quite frequently. But does the united front represent a threat to the peasants, small traders, artisans, working intellectuals? No, the united front is a threat to the big bourgeoisie, the financial magnates, the junkers and other exploiters, whose regime brings complete ruin to all these strata.

'Social Democracy is for democracy, the Communists are for dictatorship; therefore we cannot form a united front with the Communists,' say some of the Social Democratic leaders. But are we offering you now a united front for the purpose of proclaiming the dictatorship of the proletariat? We make no such proposal now.

'Let the Communists recognize democracy, let them come out in its defence; then we shall be ready for a united front.' To this we reply: We are the adherents of Soviet democracy, the democracy of the working people, the most consistent democracy in the world. But in the capitalist countries we defend and shall continue to defend every inch of bourgeois-democratic liberties, which are being attacked by fascism and bourgeois reaction, because the interest of the class struggle of the proletariat so dictate.

'But can the tiny Communist Parties contribute anything by participating in the united front brought about by the Labour Party,' say, for instance, the Labour leaders of Great Britain. Remember how the Austrian Social Democratic leaders said the same thing with reference to the

small Austrian Communist Party. And what have events shown? It was not the Austrian Social Democratic Party headed by Otto Bauer and Renner that proved right, but the small Austrian Communist Party which signalled the fascist danger in Austria at the right moment and called upon the workers to struggle. The whole experience of the labour movement has shown that the Communists with all their relative insignificance in numbers, are the motive power of the militant activity of the proletariat. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the Communist Parties of Austria or Great Britain are not only the tens of thousands of workers who are adherents of the Party, but are parts of the world Communist movement, are *Sections of the Communist International*, whose leading Party is the Party of a proletariat which has already achieved victory and rules over one-sixth of the globe.

'But the united front did not prevent fascism from being victorious in the Saar,' is another objection advanced by the opponents of the united front. Strange is the logic of these gentlemen. First they leave no stone unturned to ensure the victory of fascism and then they rejoice with malicious glee because the united front which they entered into only at the last moment did not lead to the victory of the workers.

'If we were to form a united front with the Communists, we should have to withdraw from the coalition, and reactionary and fascist parties would enter the government,' say the Social Democratic leaders holding cabinet posts in various countries. Very well. Was not the German Social Democratic Party in a coalition government? It was. Was not the Austrian Social Democratic Party in office? Were not the Spanish Socialists in the same government as the bourgeoisie? They were. Did the participation of the Social Democratic Parties in the bourgeois coalition governments in these countries prevent fascism from attacking the proletariat? It did not. Consequently it is as clear as daylight that participation of Social Democratic ministers in bourgeois governments is not a barrier to fascism.

The Communists act like dictators, they want to

prescribe and dictate everything to us.' No. We prescribe nothing and dictate nothing. We only put forward our proposals, being convinced that if realized they will meet the interests of the working people. This is not only the right but the duty of all those acting in the name of the workers. You are afraid of the 'dictatorship' of the Communists? Let us jointly submit to the workers all proposals, both your and ours, jointly discuss them together with all the workers, and choose those proposals which are most useful to the cause of the working class.

Thus all these arguments against a united front *will not stand the slightest criticism*. They are rather the flimsy excuses of the reactionary leaders of Social Democracy, who prefer their united front with the bourgeoisie to the united front of the proletariat.

No. These excuses will not hold water. The international proletariat has experienced the suffering caused by the split in the working class, and becomes more and more convinced that *the united front, the unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale, is at once necessary and perfectly possible*.

CONTENT AND FORMS OF THE UNITED FRONT

What is and ought to be the basic content of the united front at the present stage? The defence of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defence of the working class against fascism, must form the *starting point* and *main content* of the united front in all capitalist countries.

We must not confine ourselves to bare appeals to struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. We must find and advance those slogans and forms of struggle which arise from the vital needs of the masses, from the level of their fighting capacity at the present stage of development.

We must point out to the masses what they must do *today* to defend themselves against capitalist spoliation and fascist barbarity.

We must strive to establish the widest united front with the aid of joint action by workers' organizations of different

trends for the defence of the vital interests of the labouring masses. This means:

First, joint struggle really to shift the burden of the consequences of the crisis onto the shoulders of the ruling classes, the shoulders of the capitalists and landlords – in a word, onto the shoulders of the rich.

Second, joint struggle against all forms of the fascist offensive, in defence of the gains and the rights of the working people, against the abolition of bourgeois-democratic liberties.

Third, joint struggle against the approaching danger of an imperialist war, a struggle that will make the preparation of such a war more difficult.

We must tirelessly prepare the working class for a *rapid change in forms and methods of struggle* when there is a change in the situation. As the movement grows and the unity of the working class strengthens, we must go further, and prepare the transition *from the defensive to the offensive against capital*, steering towards the *organization of a mass political strike*. It must be an absolute condition of such a strike to draw into it the main trade unions of the countries concerned.

Communists, of course, cannot and must not for a moment abandon their own *independent work* of Communist education, organization and mobilization of the masses. However, to ensure that the workers find the road of unity of action, it is necessary to strive at the same time both for short-term and for long-term agreements that provide for *joint action with Social Democratic Parties, reformist trade unions and other organizations of the working people* against the class enemies of the proletariat. The chief stress in all this must be laid on developing *mass action*, locally, *to be carried out by the local organizations* through local agreements. While loyally carrying out the conditions of all agreements made with them, we shall mercilessly expose all sabotage of joint action on the part of persons and organizations participating the united front. To any attempt to wreck the agreements – and such attempts may possibly be made – we shall reply by appealing to the masses while continuing

untiringly to struggle for restoration of the broken unity of action.

It goes without saying that the practical realization of a united front will take *various* forms in various countries, depending upon the condition and character of the workers' organizations and their political level, upon the situation in the particular country, upon the changes in progress in the international labour movement, etc.

These forms may include, for instance: co-ordinated joint action of the workers to be agreed upon *from case to case* on definite occasions, on individual demands or on the basis of a common platform; co-ordinated actions in *individual enterprises or by whole industries*; co-ordinated actions on a *local, regional, national or international scale*; co-ordinated actions for the organization of the *economic* struggle of the workers, for carrying out mass *political* actions, for the organization of joint *self-defence* against fascist attacks, coordinated actions in rendering *aid to political prisoners and their families*, in the field of struggle against *social reaction*; joint actions in the defence of the *interests of the youth and women*, in the field of the *co-operative movement, cultural activity, sport*, etc.

It would be insufficient to rest content with the conclusion of a pact providing for joint action and the formation of contact committees from the parties and organizations participating in the united front, like those we have in France, for instance. That is only the first step. The pact is an auxiliary means for obtaining joint action, but by itself it does not constitute a united front. A contact commission between the leaders of the Communist and Socialist Parties is necessary to facilitate the carrying out of joint action, but by itself it is far from adequate for a real development of the united front, for drawing the widest masses into the struggle against fascism.

The Communists and all revolutionary workers must strive for the formation of elected (and in the countries of fascist dictatorship – selected from among the most authoritative participants in the united front movement) *nonparty class bodies of the united front*, at the *factories*, among the *unemployed*, in the *working class districts*, among

the *small towns-folk* and in the *villages*. Only such bodies will be able to include also the vast masses of unorganized working people in the united front movement, and will be able to assist in developing mass initiative in the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and reaction, and on this basis create the necessary *broad active rank-and-file of the united front* and train hundreds and thousands of non-Party Bolsheviks in the *capitalist countries*.

Joint action of the *organized* workers is the beginning, the foundation. But we must not lose sight of the fact that the unorganized masses constitute the vast majority of workers. Thus, in *France* the number of organized workers – Communists, Socialists, trade union members of various trends – is altogether *about one million*, while the total number of workers is eleven million. In *Great Britain* there are approximately *five million* members of trade unions and parties of various trends. At the same time the total number of workers is *fourteen million*. In the *United States of America* about *five million* workers are organized, while altogether there are *thirty eight million* workers in that country. About the same ratio holds good for a number of other countries. In 'normal' times this mass in the main does not participate in political life. But now this gigantic mass is getting into motion more and more, is being brought into political life, comes out onto the political arena.

The creation of non-partisan class bodies is the *best form* for carrying out, extending and strengthening a united front among the rank-and-file of the masses. These bodies will likewise be the best bulwark against any attempt of the opponents of the united front to disrupt the growing unity of action of the working class.

THE ANTI-FASCIST POPULAR FRONT

In mobilizing the mass of working people for the struggle against fascism, the formation of a *wide anti-fascist Popular Front* on the basis of the *proletarian united front* is a particularly important task. The success of the whole struggle of the proletariat is closely bound up with the establishment of a fighting alliance between the proletariat,

on the one hand, and the labouring peasantry and basic mass of the urban petty bourgeoisie who together form the majority of the population even in industrially developed countries, on the other.

In its agitation fascism, desirous of winning these masses to its own side, tries to set the mass of the working people in town and countryside against the revolutionary proletariat, frightening the petty bourgeoisie with the bogey of the 'Red peril'. We must *turn this weapon against those who wield it* and show the working peasants, artisans and intellectuals whence the real danger threatens. We must show concretely who it is that piles the burden of taxes and imposts onto the peasant and squeezes usurious interest out of him; who it is that, while owning the best land and every form of wealth, drives the peasant and his family from their plot of land and dooms them to unemployment and poverty. We must explain concretely, patiently and persistently who it is that ruins the artisans and handicraftsmen with taxes, imposts, high rents, and competition impossible for them to withstand; who it is that throws into the street and deprives of employment the wide masses of the working intelligentsia. But this is *not enough*.

The fundamental, the most decisive thing in establishing an anti-fascist Popular Front is *resolute action of the revolutionary proletariat* in defence of the demands of these sections of the people, particularly the working peasantry – demands in line with the basic interests of the proletariat – and in the process of struggle combining the demands of the working class with these demands.

In forming an anti-fascist Popular Front, a correct approach to those organizations and parties whose membership comprises a considerable number of the working peasantry and the mass of the urban petty bourgeoisie is of great importance.

In the capitalist countries the majority of these parties and organizations, political as well as economic, are still under the influence of the bourgeoisie and follow it. The

social composition of these parties and organizations is heterogeneous. They include rich peasants side by side with landless peasants, big businessmen alongside petty shopkeepers; but control is in the hands of the former, the agents of big capital. This obliges us to *approach the different organizations in different ways*, remembering that often the bulk of the membership ignores the real political character of its leadership. Under certain conditions we can and must try to draw these parties and organizations or certain sections of them to the side of the anti-fascist Popular Front, despite their bourgeois leadership. Such, for instance, is today the situation in France with the Radical Party, in the United States with various farmers' organizations, in Poland with the 'Stronnictwo Ludowe',⁹ in Yugoslavia with the Croatian Peasants' Party, in Bulgaria with the Agrarian Union, in Greece with the Agrarians, etc. But regardless of whether or not there is any chance of attracting these parties and organizations as a whole to the Popular Front, our tactics must *under all circumstances* be directed towards drawing the small peasants, artisans, handicraftsmen, etc., among their members into an anti-fascist Popular Front.

Hence, you see that in this field we must all along the line put an end to what has not infrequently occurred in our work – neglect or contempt of the various organizations and parties of the peasants, artisans and the mass of petty bourgeoisie in the towns.

KEY QUESTIONS OF THE UNITED FRONT IN INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES

In every country there are certain *key questions*, which at the present stage are agitating vast masses of the population and around which the struggle for the establishment of a united front must be developed. If these key points, of key questions, are properly grasped it will ensure and accelerate the establishment of a united front.

Let us take, for example, so important a country in the capitalist world as *the United States of America*. There millions of people have been set into motion by the crisis. The programme for the recovery of capitalism has collapsed. Vast masses are beginning to abandon the bourgeois parties and are at present at the crossroads.

Embryo American fascism is trying to direct the disillusionment and discontent of these masses into reactionary fascist channels. It is a peculiarity of the development of American fascism that at the present stage it comes forward principally in the guise of an opposition to fascism, which it accuses of being an 'un-American' trend imported from abroad. In contradistinction to German fascism, which acts under anti-constitutional slogans, American fascism tries to portray itself as the custodian of the Constitution and 'American democracy.' It does not as yet represent a directly menacing force. But if it succeeds in penetrating the wide masses who have become disillusioned with the old bourgeois parties, it may become a serious menace in the very near future.

And what would the victory of fascism in the United States involve? For the mass of working people it would, of course, involve the unprecedented strengthening of the regime of exploitation and the destruction of the working class movement. And what would be the international significance of this victory of fascism? As we know, the United States is not Hungary, nor Finland, nor Bulgaria, nor Latvia. The victory of fascism in the United States would vitally change the whole international situation.

Under these circumstances, can the American proletariat content itself with organizing only its class-conscious vanguard, which is prepared to follow the revolutionary path? No.

It is perfectly obvious that the interests of the American proletariat demand that all its forces dissociate themselves from the capitalist parties without delay. It must find in good time ways and suitable forms to prevent fascism from winning over the wide mass of discontented working peo-

ple. And here it must be said that under American conditions the creation of a mass party of the working people, a *Workers' and Farmers' Party*, might serve as such suitable form. *Such a party would be a specific form of the mass Popular Front in America* and should be put in opposition to the parties of the trusts and the banks, and likewise to growing fascism. Such a party, of course, will be *neither Socialist nor Communist*. But it *must be* an anti-fascist party and *must not be* an anti-Communist party. The programme of this party must be directed against the banks, trusts and monopolies, against the principal enemies of the people, who are gambling on the woes of the latter. Such a party will justify its name only if it defends the urgent demands of the working class; only if it fights for genuine social legislation, for unemployment insurance; only if it fights for land for the white and black sharecroppers and for their liberation from debt burdens; only if it tries to secure the cancellation of the farmers' indebtedness; only if it fights for an equal status for Negroes; only if it defends the demands of the war veterans and the interests of members of the liberal professions, small businessmen and artisans. And so on.

It goes without saying that such a party will fight for the election of its own candidates to local government, to the state legislatures, to the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Our comrades in the United States acted rightly in taking the initiative in the setting up of such a party. But they still have to take effective measures in order to make the creation of such a party the cause of the masses themselves. The question of forming a *Workers' and Farmers' Party*, and its programme should be discussed at mass meetings of the people. We should develop the most widespread movement for the creation of such a party, and take the lead in it. In no case must the initiative of organizing the party be allowed to pass to elements desirous of utilizing the discontent of the millions who have become disillusioned in both the bourgeois parties, Democratic and Republican, in order to create a 'third party' in the United States as an anti-Communist party, a party directed against the revolutionary movement.

Great Britain

In *Great Britain*, as a result of the mass action of the British workers, Mosley's fascist organization has for the time being been pushed into the background. But we must not close our eyes to the fact that the so-called 'National Government' is passing a number of reactionary measures directed against the working class, as a result of which conditions are being created in Great Britain, too, which will make it easier for the bourgeoisie, if necessary, to pass to a fascist regime.

At the present stage, fighting the fascist danger in Great Britain means primarily fighting the 'National Government' and its reactionary measures, fighting the offensive of capital, fighting for the demands of the unemployed, fighting against wage cuts and for the repeal of all those laws with the help of which the British bourgeoisie is lowering the standard of living of the masses.

But the growing hatred of the working class for the 'National Government' is uniting increasingly large number under the slogan of the formation of a *new Labour Government* in Great Britain. Can the Communists ignore this frame of mind of the masses, who still retain faith in a Labour Government? No, Comrades. We must find a way of approaching these masses. We tell them openly, as did the Thirteenth Congress of the British Communist Party, that we Communists are in favour of a Soviet government as the only form of government capable of emancipating the workers from the yoke of capital. But you want a Labour Government? Very well. We have been and are fighting hand in hand with you for the defeat of the 'National Government'. We are prepared to support your fight for the formation of a new Labour government, in spite of the fact that both the previous Labour governments failed to fulfil the promises made to the working class by the Labour Party. We do not expect this government to carry out socialist measures. But *we shall present it with the demand*, in the name of millions of workers, that it defend the most essential economic and political interests of the working class and of all working people. Let us jointly discuss a

common programme of such demands, and let us achieve that unity of action which the proletariat requires in order to repel the reactionary offensive of the 'National Government', the attack of capital and fascism and the preparations for a new war. On this basis, the British comrades are prepared at the forthcoming parliamentary elections to co-operate with branches of the Labour Party against the 'National Government', and also against Lloyd George who is trying in his own way in the interests of the British bourgeoisie to lure the masses into following him against the cause of the working class.

The position of the British Communists is a correct one. It will help them to set up a militant united front with the millions of members of the British trade unions and Labour Party. While always remaining in the front ranks of the fighting proletariat, and pointing out to the masses the only 'right path' – the path of struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a Soviet government – the Communists, in defining their immediate political aims, must not attempt to leap over those necessary stages of the mass movement in the course of which the working class by its own experience outlives its illusions and passes over to Communism.

France

France, as we know, is a country in which the working class is setting an example to the whole international proletariat of how to fight fascism. The French Communist Party is setting an example to all the Sections of the Communist International of how the tactics of the united front should be applied; the Socialist workers are setting an example of what the Social Democratic workers of other capitalist countries should now be doing in the fight against fascism.

The significance of the anti-fascist demonstration attended by half a million people in Paris on July 14 of this

year, and of the numerous demonstrations in other French cities, is tremendous.

This is not merely a United Front movement of the workers; it is the beginning of a wide general Popular Front against fascism in France. This united front movement enhances the confidence of the working class in its own forces; it strengthens its consciousness of the leading role it is playing in relation to the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and the intelligentsia; it extends the influence of the Communist Party among the mass of the working class and therefore makes the proletariat stronger in the fight against fascism. It is arousing in good time the vigilance of the masses in regard to the fascist danger. And it will serve as a contagious example for the development of the anti-fascist struggle in other capitalist countries, and will exercise a heartening influence on the proletarians of Germany, oppressed by the fascist dictatorship.

The victory, needless to say, is a big one; but still it does not decide the issue of the anti-fascist struggle. The overwhelming majority of the French people are undoubtedly opposed to fascism. But the bourgeoisie is able by armed force to violate the popular will. The fascist movement is continuing to develop absolutely freely, with the active support of monopoly capital, the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie, the general staff of the French army, and the reactionary leaders of the Catholic Church – that stronghold of all reaction. The most powerful fascist organization, the *Croix de Feu*, now commands 300,000 armed men, the backbone of which consists of 60,000 officers of the reserve. It holds strong positions in the police, the gendarmerie, the army, the air force and in all government offices. The recent municipal elections have shown that in France it is not only the revolutionary forces that are growing, but also the forces of fascism. If fascism succeeds in penetrating widely among the peasantry and in securing the support of one section of the army, while the other section remains neutral, the masses of the French working people will not be able to prevent the fascists from coming to power. Comrades, do not forget the organizational weakness of the French labour movement

which facilitates a fascist offensive. The working class and all anti-fascists in France have no grounds for resting content with the results achieved so far.

What are the tasks facing the working class in France?

First, to establish a united front not only in the political sphere, but also in the economic sphere, in order to organize the struggle against the capitalist offensive, and by its pressure to smash the resistance offered to the united front by the leaders of the reformist Confederation of Labour.

Second, to achieve trade union unity in France – united trade unions based on the class struggle.

Third, to enlist the broad mass of the peasants and petty bourgeoisie in the anti-fascist movement, devoting special attention to their urgent demands in the programme of the anti-fascist Popular Front.

Fourth, to strengthen organizationally and extend further the anti-fascist movement which has already developed, by the widespread creation of non-partisan elected bodies of the anti-fascist Popular Front, whose influence will extend to wider masses than those in the present parties and organizations of the working people in France.

Fifth, to force the disbanding and disarming of the fascist organizations, as being organizations of conspirators against the republic and agents of Hitler in France.

Sixth, to secure that the state apparatus, army and police shall be purged of the conspirators who are preparing a fascist coup.

Seventh, to develop the struggle against the leaders of the reactionary cliques of the Catholic Church, as one of the most important strongholds of French fascism.

Eighth, to link up the army with the anti-fascist movement by creating in its ranks committees for the defence of the republic and the constitution, directed against those who want to utilize the army for an anti-constitutional coup d'état; to prevent the reactionary forces in France from wrecking the Franco-Soviet pact, which defends the cause of peace against the aggression of German fascism.

And if in France the anti-fascist movement leads to the formation of a government which will carry on a real

struggle against French fascism – not in words but in deeds – and which will carry out the programme of demands of the antifascist Popular Front, the Communists, while remaining the irreconcilable foes of every bourgeois government and supporters of a Soviet government, will nevertheless, in face of the growing fascist danger, be prepared to support such a government.

THE UNITED FRONT AND THE FASCIST MASS ORGANIZATIONS

Comrades, the fight for the establishment of a united front in countries where the fascists are in power is perhaps the most important problem facing us. In such countries, of course, the fight is carried on under far more difficult conditions than in countries with a legal labour movement. Nevertheless, all the conditions exist in fascist countries for the development of a real anti-fascist Popular Front in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship since the Social-Democratic, Catholic and other workers, in Germany for instance, are able to realize more directly the need for a joint struggle with the Communists against the fascist dictatorship. Wide strata of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry, having already tasted the bitter fruits of fascist rule, are growing increasingly discontented and disillusioned which makes it easier to enlist them in the antifascist Popular Front.

The principal task in fascist countries, particularly in Germany and Italy, where fascism has managed to gain a mass basis and has forced the workers and other working people into its organizations, consists in skilfully combining the fight against the fascist dictatorship from without with the undermining of it from within, inside the fascist mass organizations and bodies. Special methods and means of approach, suited to the concrete conditions prevailing in these countries, must be learned, mastered and applied, so as to facilitate the rapid disintegration of the mass base of fascism and to prepare the way for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. We must learn, master and apply this, and not only shout 'Down with

Hitler' and 'Down with Mussolini.' Yes, learn, master and apply.

This is a difficult and complex task. It is all the more difficult in that our experience in successfully combating a fascist dictatorship is extremely limited. Our Italian comrades, for instance, have already been fighting under the conditions of a fascist dictatorship for about thirteen years. Nevertheless, they have not yet succeeded in developing a real mass struggle against fascism, and therefore they have unfortunately been little able in this respect to help the Communist Parties in other fascist countries by their positive experience.

The German and Italian Communists, and the Communists in other fascist countries, as well as the Communist youth, have displayed prodigious valour; they have made and are daily making tremendous sacrifices. We all bow our heads in honour of such heroism and sacrifices. But heroism alone is not enough. Heroism must be combined with day-to-day work among the masses, with concrete struggle against fascism, so as to achieve the most tangible results in this sphere. In our struggle against fascist dictatorship is particularly dangerous to confuse the wish with fact. We must base ourselves on the facts, on the actual concrete situation.

What is now the actual situation in Germany, for instance?

The masses are becoming increasingly restless and disillusioned with the policy of the fascist dictatorship, and this even assumes the form of partial strikes and other actions. In spite of all its efforts, fascism has failed to win over politically the basic masses of the workers; it is losing even its former supporters, and will lose them more and more in the future. Nevertheless, we must realize that the workers who are convinced of the possibility of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship, and who are already prepared to fight for it actively, are still in the minority – they consist of us, the Communists, and the revolutionary section of the Social Democratic workers. But the majority of the working people have not yet become aware of the real, concrete possibilities and methods of overthrowing this

dictatorship, and still adopt a waiting attitude. This we must bear in mind when we outline our tasks in the struggle against fascism in Germany, and when we seek, study and apply special methods of approach for the undermining and overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Germany.

In order to be able to strike a telling blow at the fascist dictatorship, we must first find out what is its most vulnerable point. What is the Achilles' heel of the fascist dictatorship? Its social basis. The latter is extremely heterogeneous. It is made up of various strata of society. Fascism has proclaimed itself the sole representative of all classes and strata of the population: the manufacturer and the worker, the millionaire and the unemployed, the Junker and the small peasant, the big businessman and the artisan. It pretends to defend the interests of all these strata, the interests of the nation. But since it is a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, fascism must inevitably come into conflict with its mass social basis, all the more since, under the fascist dictatorship, the class contradictions between the pack of financial magnates and the overwhelming majority of the people are brought out in greatest relief.

We can lead the masses to a decisive struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship only by getting the workers who have been forced into the fascist organizations, or have joined them through ignorance, to take part in *the most elementary movements* for the defence of their economic, political and cultural interests. It is for this reason that the Communists must work in these organizations, as the best champions of the day-to-day interests, of the mass of members bearing in mind that as the workers belonging to these organizations begin more and more frequently to demand their rights and defend their interests, they inevitably come into conflict with the fascist dictatorship.

In defending the urgent and at first the most elementary interests of the working people in town and countryside, it is comparatively easier to find a common language not only with the conscious anti-fascists, but also with those of the working people who are still supporters

of fascism, but are disillusioned and dissatisfied with its policy, and are grumbling and seeking an occasion for expressing their discontent. In general, we must realize that all our tactics in countries with a fascist dictatorship must be of such a character as not to repulse the rank-and-file supporters of fascism, not to throw them once more into the arms of fascism, but to deepen the gulf between the fascist leaders and the mass of disillusioned rank-and-file followers of fascism drawn from the working sections of society.

We need not be dismayed, Comrades, if the people mobilized around these day-to-day interests consider themselves either indifferent to politics or even followers of fascism. The important thing for us is to draw them into the movement, which, although it may not at first proceed openly under the slogans of the struggle against fascism, is already objectively an anti-fascist movement putting these masses into opposition to the fascist dictatorship.

Experience teaches us that the view that it is *generally impossible*, in countries with a fascist dictatorship, to come out legally or semi-legally, is harmful and incorrect. To insist on this point of view means to fall into passivity, and to renounce real mass work altogether. True, under the conditions of a fascist dictatorship, to find forms and methods of legal or semi-legal action is a difficult and complex problem. But, as in many other questions, the path is indicated by life itself and by the initiative of the masses themselves, who have already provided us with a number of examples that must be generalized and applied in an organized and effective manner.

We must very resolutely put an end to the tendency to underestimate work in the fascist mass organizations. In Italy, in Germany and in a number of other fascist countries, our comrades tried to conceal their passivity, and frequently even their direct refusal to work in the fascist mass organizations, by putting forward work in the factories as against work in the fascist mass organizations. In reality however, it was just this mechanical distinction which led to work being conducted very feebly, and

sometimes not at all, both in the fascist mass organizations and in the factories.

Yet it is particularly important that Communists in the fascist countries should be wherever the masses are to be found. Fascism has deprived the workers of their own legal organizations. It has forced the fascist organizations upon them, and it is *there that the masses are* — by compulsion, or to some extent voluntarily. These mass fascist organizations can and must be made our legal or semi-legal field of action we can meet the masses. They can and must be made our legal or semi-legal starting point for the defence of the day-to-day interests of the masses. To utilize these possibilities, Communists must win elected positions in the fascist mass organizations, for contact with the masses, and must rid themselves once and for all of the prejudice that such activity is unseemly and unworthy of a revolutionary worker.

In Germany, for instance, there is a system of so-called 'shop stewards.' But where is it stated that we must leave the fascists a monopoly in these organizations? Cannot we try to unite the Communist, Social Democratic, Catholic and other anti-fascist workers in the factories so that when the list of 'shop stewards' is voted upon, the known agents of the employers may be struck off and other candidates, enjoying the confidence of the workers, inserted in their stead? Practice has already shown that this is possible.

And does not practice also go to show that it is possible, jointly with the Social Democratic and other discontented workers, to demand that the 'shop stewards' really defend the interests of the workers?

Take the *Labour Front* in Germany, or the fascist trade unions in Italy. Is it not possible to demand that the functionaries of the Labour Front be elected, and not appointed, to insist that the leading bodies of the local groups report to meetings of the members of the organizations; to address these demands, following a decision by the group, to the employer, to the 'labour trustee,' to higher bodies of the Labour Front? This is possible, provided the revolutionary workers actually work within the Labour Front and try to obtain posts in it.

Similar methods of work are possible and essential in other mass fascist organizations also — in the Hitler Youth Leagues, in the sports organizations, in the *Kraft durch Freude*¹⁰ organizations, in the *Dopo lavoro*¹¹ in Italy, in the cooperatives and so forth.

Comrades, you recall the ancient legend about the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls. And the attacking army, after suffering heavy casualties, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous Trojan horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemy's camp.

We revolutionary workers, it appears to me, should not be shy about using the same tactics with regard to our fascist foe, who is defending himself against the people with the help of a living wall of his cut-throats.

He who fails to understand the necessity of using such tactics in the case of fascism, he who regards such an approach as 'humiliating,' may be a most excellent comrade, but if you will allow me to say, so, he is a windbag and not a revolutionary, he will be unable to lead the masses to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

The mass movement for a united front, starting with the defence of the most elementary needs, and changing its forms and watchwords of struggle as the latter extends and grows, is growing up outside and inside the fascist organizations in Germany, Italy, and the other countries in which fascism has a mass basis. It will be the battering ram which will shatter the fortress of the fascist dictatorship that at present seems impregnable to many.

THE UNITED FRONT IN COUNTRIES WHERE
THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS ARE IN OFFICE

The struggle for the establishment of a united front raises another very important problem, the problem of a united front in countries where Social Democratic governments, or coalition governments in which Socialists

participate, are in power, as, for instance, in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Czechoslovakia and Belgium.

Our attitude of absolute opposition to Social Democratic governments, which are governments of compromise with the bourgeoisie, is well known. But this notwithstanding, we do not regard the existence of a *Social Democratic government* or of a government coalition with bourgeois parties as an *insurmountable* obstacle to establishing a united front with the Social Democrats on certain issues.

We believe that in such a case too a united front in defence of the vital interests of the working people and in the struggle against fascism is quite *possible* and *necessary*. It stands to reason that in countries where representatives of Social Democratic parties take part in the government the Social Democratic leadership offers the strongest *resistance* to the proletarian united front. This is quite comprehensible. After all, they want to show the bourgeoisie that they, better and more skilfully than anyone else, can keep the discontented working masses under control and prevent them from falling under the influence of Communism.

The fact, however, that Social Democratic ministers are opposed to proletarian united front can by no means justify a situation in which *the Communists do nothing to establish a united front of the proletariat*.

Our comrades in the Scandinavian countries often follow the line of least resistance, *confining themselves to propaganda exposing the Social Democratic governments*. This is a mistake. In *Denmark*, for example, the Social Democratic leaders have been in the government for the past ten years, and for ten years, day in and day out, the Communists have been reiterating that it is a bourgeois capitalist government. We have to assume that the Danish workers are acquainted with this propaganda. The fact that a considerable majority nevertheless vote for the Social Democratic government party only goes to show that the Communists' exposure of the government by means of propaganda is *insufficient*. It does not prove, however, that these hundreds of thousands of workers are satisfied with all the government measures of the Social Democratic

ministers. No, they are *not satisfied* with the fact that by its so-called 'crisis agreement' the Social Democratic government assists *the big capitalists and landlords* and not the workers and poor peasants. They are not satisfied with the decree issued by the government in January 1933, which deprived the workers of the *right to strike*. They are not satisfied with the project of the Social Democratic leadership for a dangerous *anti-democratic electoral reform* (which would considerably reduce the number of deputies). I shall hardly be in error, Comrades, if I state that 99 per cent of the Danish workers *do not approve* of these political steps taken by the Social Democratic leaders and ministers.

Is it not possible for the Communists to call upon the trade unions and Social Democratic organizations of Denmark to discuss some of these burning issues, to express their opinions on them and come out jointly for a proletarian united front with the object of obtaining the workers' demands? In October of last year, when our Danish comrades appealed to the trade unions to act against the reduction of unemployment relief and for the democratic rights of the trade unions, about 100 local trade union organizations joined the united front.

In *Sweden* a Social Democratic government is in power for the third time, but the Swedish Communists have for a long time abstained from applying the united front tactics in practice. Why? Was it because they were opposed to the united front? Of course not; they were in principle for a united front, for a united front *in general*, but they failed to understand in what circumstances, on what questions, in defence of what demands a proletarian united front could be successfully established, where and how to 'hook on.' A few months before the formation of the Social Democratic government, the Social Democratic Party advanced during the elections a platform containing a number of demands which would have been the very thing to include in the platform of the proletarian united front. For example, the slogans *Against custom duties, Against militarization, Put an end to the policy of delay in the question of unemployment insurance, Grant adequate old age pensions, Prohibit organizations like the 'Munch' corps* (a fascist organization), *Down with*

class legislation against the unions demanded by the bourgeois parties.

Over a million of the working people of Sweden voted in 1932 for these demands advanced by the Social Democrats, and welcomed in 1933 the formation of a Social Democratic government in the hope that now these demands would be realized. What could have been more natural in such a situation and what would have better suited the mass of the workers than an appeal of the Communist Party to all Social Democratic and trade union organizations to take joint action to secure these demands advanced by the Social Democratic Party?

If we have succeeded in really mobilizing wide masses and in welding the Social Democratic and Communist workers' organizations into a united front to secure these demands of the Social Democrats themselves, there is no doubt that the *working class of Sweden* would have gained thereby. The Social Democratic ministers of Sweden, of course, would not have been very happy over it, for in that case the government would have been compelled to meet at least some of these demands. At any rate, what has happened now, when the government instead of abolishing has *raised* some of the duties, instead of restricting militarism has enlarged the military budget, and instead of rejecting all legislation directed against the trade unions has *itself* introduced such a bill in Parliament, would not have happened. True, on the last issue the Communist Party of Sweden carried through a good mass campaign in the spirit of the proletarian united front, with the result that in the end even the Social Democratic parliamentary faction felt constrained to vote against the government bill, and for the time being it has been voted down.

The Norwegian Communists were right in calling upon the organizations of the Labour Party to organize joint May Day demonstrations and in putting forward a number of demands which in the main coincided with the demands contained in the election platform of the Norwegian Labour Party. Although this step in favour of a united front was poorly prepared and the leadership of the

Norwegian Labour Party opposed it, *united front demonstrations* took place in thirty localities.

Formerly many Communists used to be afraid it would be opportunism on their part if they did not counter *every* partial demand of the Social Democrats by demands of their own which were twice as radical. That was a naïve mistake. If Social Democrats, for instance, demanded the dissolution of the fascist organizations, there was no reason why we should add: 'and the disbanding of the state police' (a demand which would be expedient under different circumstances). We should rather tell the Social Democratic workers: We are ready to accept these demands of your Party as demands of the proletarian united front and are ready to fight to the end for their realization. Let us join hands for the battle.

In *Czechoslovakia* also certain demands advanced by the Czech and German Social Democrats, and by the reformist trade unions, can and should be utilized for establishing a united front of the working class. When the Social Democrats, for instance, demand work for the unemployed or the abolition of the laws restricting municipal self-government, as they have done ever since 1927, these demands should be made concrete in each locality, in each district, and a fight should be carried on hand in hand with the Social Democratic organizations for their actual realization. Or, when the Social Democratic Parties thunder 'in general terms' against the agents of fascism in the state apparatus, the proper thing to do is in each particular district to drag into the light of day *the particular* local fascist spokesmen, and together with the Social Democratic workers demand their removal from government employ.

In *Belgium* the leaders of the Social Democratic Party, with Emile Vandervelde at their head, have entered a coalition government. This 'success' they achieved thanks to their lengthy and extensive campaigns for two main demands: 1) *abolition of the emergency decrees*, and 2) *realization of the de Man¹² Plan*. The first issue is very important. The preceding government issued 150 reactionary emergency decrees, which are an extremely heavy burden on the working people. They were expected to be repealed at

once. This was the demand of the Socialist Party. But have many of these emergency decrees been repealed by the new government? It has not repealed a single one. It has only mollified somewhat a few of the emergency decrees in order to make a sort of 'token payment' in settlement of the generous promises of the Belgian Socialist leaders (like that 'token dollar' which some European powers proffered the USA in payment of the millions due as war debts).

As regards the realization of the widely advertized de Man Plan, the matter has taken a turn quite unexpected by the Social Democratic masses. The Socialist ministers announced that *the economic crisis must be overcome first*, and only those provisions of the de Man Plan should be carried into effect which improve the position of the industrial capitalists and the banks; only afterwards would it be possible to adopt measures to improve the condition of the workers. But *how long* must the workers wait for their *share* in the 'benefits' promised them in the de Man Plan? The Belgian bankers have already had their veritable *shower of gold*. The Belgian franc has been devalued 28 per cent; by this manipulation the bankers were able to pocket 4,500 million francs as their spoils at the expense of the wage earners and the savings of the small depositors. But how does this tally with the contents of the de Man Plan? Why, if we are to believe the letter of the plan, it promises to 'prosecute monopolist abuses and speculative manipulations.'

On the basis of the de Man Plan, the government has appointed a commission to supervise the banks. But the commission *consists of bankers* who can now gaily and lightheartedly supervise themselves.

The de Man Plan also promises a number of other good things, such as a *shorter working day*, *standardization of wages*, *a minimum wage*, *organization of an all-embracing system of social insurance*, 'greater convenience in living conditions through new *housing construction*,' and so forth. These are all demands which we Communists can support. We should go to the labour organizations of Belgium and say to them: The capitalists have already received enough and even too much. Let us demand that the Social Democratic

ministers now carry out the promises they made to the workers. Let us get together in a *united front for the successful defence* of our interests. Minister Vandervelde, we support the demands on behalf of the workers contained in *your platform*; but we tell you frankly that we take these demands *seriously*, that we want action and not empty words, and therefore are rallying hundreds of thousands of workers to *struggle* for these demands.

Thus, in countries having Social Democratic governments, the Communists, by utilizing appropriate individual demands taken from the platforms of the Social Democratic ministers as a starting point for achieving joint action with the Social Democratic Parties and organizations, can afterwards more easily develop a campaign for the establishment of a united front on the basis of other mass demands in the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and the threat of war.

It must further be borne in mind that, in general, joint action with the Social Democratic Parties and organizations requires from Communists serious and substantiated criticism of Social Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and untiring, comradely explanation to the Social Democratic workers of the programme and slogans of Communism. In countries having Social Democratic governments this task is of particular importance in the struggle for a united front.

THE STRUGGLE FOR TRADE UNION UNITY

Comrades, a most important stage in the consolidation of the united front must be the establishment of national and international trade union unity.

As you know, the splitting tactics of the reformist leaders were applied most virulently in the trade unions. The reason for this is clear. Here their policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie found its practical culmination directly in the factories, to the detriment of the vital interests of the working class. This, of course, gave rise

to sharp criticism and resistance on the part of the revolutionary workers under the leadership of the Communists. That is why the struggle between communism and reformism raged most fiercely in the trade unions.

The more difficult and complicated the situation became for capitalism, the more reactionary was the policy of the leaders of the Amsterdam trade unions, and the more aggressive their measures against all opposition elements within the trade unions. Even the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany and the intensified capitalist offensive in all capitalist countries failed to diminish this aggressiveness. Is it not a characteristic fact that in 1933 alone most disgraceful circulars were issued for the expulsion of Communists and revolutionary workers from the trade unions in Great Britain, Holland, Belgium and Sweden? In Great Britain a circular was issued in 1933, prohibiting the local branches of the trade unions from joining anti-war or other revolutionary organizations. That was a prelude to the notorious 'Black Circular' of the Trade Union Congress General Council, which outlawed any trade councils admitting delegates 'directly or indirectly associated with Communist organizations.' What is there left to be said of the leadership of the German trade unions, which applied unprecedented repressive measures against the revolutionary elements in the trade unions?

Yet we must base our tactics, not on the behaviour of individual leaders of the Amsterdam trade unions, no matter what difficulties their behaviour may cause the class struggle, but primarily on the question of *where the masses of workers are to be found*. And here we must openly declare that work in the trade unions is the most vital question in the work of all the Communist Parties. We must bring about a real change for the better in trade union work and make the question of struggle for trade union unity the central issue.

Ignoring the urge of the workers to join the trade unions, and faced with the difficulties of working within the Amsterdam unions, many of our comrades decided to pass by this complicated task. They invariably spoke of an organizational crisis in the Amsterdam unions, of the

workers deserting the unions, but failed to notice that after some decline at the beginning of the world economic crisis, these unions later began to grow again. A peculiarity of the trade union movement has been precisely the fact that the attacks of the bourgeoisie on trade union rights, the attempts in a number of countries to 'coordinate' the trade unions (Poland, Hungary, etc.), the curtailment of social insurance, and the cutting of wages forced the workers, notwithstanding the lack of resistance on the part of the reformist trade union leaders, to rally still more closely around these unions, because the workers wanted and still want to see in the trade unions the militant champions of their vital class interests. This explains the fact that most of the Amsterdam unions – in France, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, etc. – have grown in membership during the last few years. The American Federation of Labour has also considerably increased its membership in the past two years.

Had the German comrades better understood the problem of trade union work of which Comrade *Thaelmann* spoke on many occasions, there would undoubtedly have been a better situation in the trade unions than was the case at the time the fascist dictatorship was established. At the end of 1932 only about ten per cent of the Party members belonged to the free trade unions. This in spite of the fact that after the Sixth Congress of the Comintern the Communists took the lead in quite a number of strikes. Our comrades used to write in the press of the need to assign 90 per cent of our forces to work in the trade unions, but in reality activity was concentrated exclusively around the revolutionary trade union opposition, which actually sought to replace the trade unions. And how about the period after Hitler's seizure of power? For two years many of our comrades stubbornly and systematically opposed the correct slogan of fighting for the re-establishment of the free unions.

I could cite similar examples about almost every other capitalist country.

But we already have the first serious achievements to our credit in the struggle for trade union unity in European

countries. I have in mind little Austria, where on the initiative of the Communist Party a basis has been created for an illegal trade union movement. After the February battles the Social Democrats, with Otto Bauer at their head, issued the watchword: 'The free unions can be re-established only after the downfall of fascism.' The Communists applied themselves to the task of re-establishing the trade unions. Every phase of that work was a bit of the living united front of the Austrian proletariat. The successful re-establishment of the free trade unions in underground conditions was a serious blow to fascism. The Social Democrats were at the parting of the ways. Some of them tried to negotiate with the government. Others, seeing our successes, created their own parallel illegal trade unions. But there could be only one road: *either capitulation to fascism, or towards trade union unity through joint struggle against fascism.* Under mass pressure, the wavering leadership of the parallel unions created by the former trade union leaders decided to agree to amalgamation. The basis of this amalgamation is irreconcilable struggle against the offensive of capitalism and fascism and the guarantee of trade union democracy. We welcome this fact of the amalgamation of the trade unions, which is the first of its kind since the formal split of the trade unions after the war and which is therefore of *international importance.*

In France the united front has unquestionably served as a mighty impetus for achieving trade union unity. The leaders of the General Confederation of Labour have hampered and still hamper in every way the realization of unity, countering the main issue of the class policy of the trade unions by raising issues of a subordinate and secondary or formal character. An unquestionable success in the struggle for trade union unity has been the establishment of *single unions* on a local scale embracing, in the case of the railroad workers, for instance, approximately three-quarters of the membership of both trade unions.

We are definitely for the re-establishment of *trade union unity in every country and on an international scale.*

We are for one union in every industry. We are for one federation of trade unions in every country.

We are for single international federations of trade unions organized by industries.

We stand for one international of trade unions based on the class struggle.

We are for united class trade unions as one of the major bulwarks of the working class against the offensive of capital and fascism. Our only condition for uniting the trade unions is: Struggle against capital, against fascism and for internal trade union democracy.

Time does not wait. To us the question of trade union unity on a national as well as international scale is a question of the great task of uniting our class in mighty, single trade union organizations against the class enemy. We welcome the fact that on the eve of May Day of this year the Red International of Labour Unions approached the Amsterdam International with the proposal to consider jointly the question of the terms, methods and forms of uniting the world trade union movement. The leaders of the Amsterdam International rejected that proposal, using the outworn pretext that unity in the trade union movement is possible only within the Amsterdam International, which, by the way, includes trade unions in only a part of the European countries.

But the Communists working in the trade unions must continue to struggle tirelessly for the unity of the trade union movement. The task of the Red Trade Unions and the Profintern is to do all in their power to hasten the achievement of a joint struggle of all trade unions against the offensive of capital and fascism, and to bring about unity in the trade union movement, despite the stubborn resistance of the reactionary leaders of the Amsterdam International. The Red Trade Unions and the Profintern must receive our instinted support along this line.

In countries where small Red Trade Unions exist, we recommend working for their inclusion in the big reformist unions, but demanding the right to defend their views and the resintatement of expelled members. But in countries where big Red Trade Unions exist parallel with big reformist trade unions, we must work for the convening of *unity congresses* on the basis of a platform of struggle against the

capitalist offensive and the guarantee of *trade union democracy*.

It should be stated categorically that any Communist worker, any revolutionary worker who does not belong to the mass trade union of his industry, who does not fight to transform the reformist trade union into a real class trade union organization, who does not fight for trade union unity on the basis of the class struggle, such a Communist worker, such a revolutionary worker, does not discharge his elementary proletarian duty.

THE UNITED FRONT AND THE YOUTH

Comrades, I have already pointed out the role played in the victory of fascism by the enlistment of the youth in the fascist organizations. In speaking of the youth, we must state frankly that we have neglected our task of drawing the masses of the working youth into the struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the danger of war; we have neglected this task in a number of countries. We have underestimated the enormous importance of the youth in the fight against fascism. We have not always taken into account the special economic, political and cultural interests of the youth. We have likewise not paid proper attention to the revolutionary education of the youth.

All this has been utilized very cleverly by fascism, which in some countries, particularly in Germany, has inveigled large sections of the youth onto the anti-proletarian road. It should be borne in mind that it is not only by the glamour of militarism that fascism entices the youth. It feeds and clothes some of them in its detachments, gives work to others, and even sets up so-called cultural institutions for the youth, trying in this way to imbue them with the idea that it really can and wants to feed, clothe, teach and provide work for the mass of the working youth.

In a number of capitalist countries our Young Communist Leagues are still mainly sectarian organizations

divorced from the masses. Their fundamental weakness is that they still try to copy the Communist Parties, to copy their forms and methods of work, forgetting that the YCL is *not a Communist Party of the youth*. They do not take sufficient account of the fact that it is an organization with its own special tasks. Its methods and forms of work, education and struggle must be adapted to the actual level and needs of the youth.

Our Young Communists have shown memorable examples of heroism in the fight against fascist violence and bourgeois reaction. But they still lack the ability to win the masses of the youth away from hostile influences by dint of stubborn concrete work, as is evident from the fact that they have not yet overcome their opposition to work in the fascist mass organizations, and that their approach to the Socialist youth and other non-Communist youth is not always correct.

A great part of the responsibility for all this must be borne, of course, by the Communist Parties as well, for they ought to lead and support the YCL in its work. For the problem of the youth is not only a YCL problem. *It is a problem for the whole Communist movement*. In the struggle for the youth, the Communist Parties and the YCL organizations must effect a genuine decisive change. The main task of the Communist youth movement in capitalist countries is to advance boldly in the direction of bringing about a *united front* along the path of organizing and rallying the young generation of working people. The tremendous influence that even the first steps taken in this direction exert on the revolutionary movement of the youth is shown by the examples of *France* and the *United States* during the recent past. It was sufficient in these countries to proceed to apply the united front for considerable successes to be immediately achieved. In the sphere of the international united front, the successful initiative of the Committee against War and Fascism in Paris in bringing about the international co-operation of all *non-fascist* youth organizations is also worthy of note in this connection.

These recent successful steps in the united front movement of the youth also show that the forms which the unit-

ted front of the youth should assume must not be stereotype, nor necessarily be the same as those met with in the practice of the Communist Parties. The Young Communist Leagues must strive in every way to unite the forces of all non-fascist mass organizations of the youth, including the formation of various kinds of common organizations for the struggle against fascism, against the unprecedented manner in which the youth is being stripped of every right, against the militarization of the youth and for the economic and cultural rights of the young generation, in order to draw these young workers over to the side of the anti-fascist front, no matter where they may be – in the factories, the forced labour camps, the labour exchanges, the army barracks and the fleet, the schools, or in the various sports, cultural or other organizations.

In developing and strengthening the YCL, our YCL members must work for the formation of anti-fascist associations of the Communist and Socialist Youth Leagues on a platform of class struggle.

THE UNITED FRONT AND WOMEN

Comrades, work among working women – among women workers, unemployed women, peasant women and housewives – has been underestimated no less than work among the youth. While fascism exacts most of all from youth, it enslaves women with particular ruthlessness and cynicism, playing on the innermost feelings of the mother, housewife, the single working woman, uncertain of the morrow. Fascism, posing as a benefactor, throws the starving family a few beggarly scraps, trying in this way to stifle the bitterness aroused, particularly among the labouring women by the unprecedented slavery which fascism brings them. It drives working women out of industry, forcibly sends needy girls into the country, dooming them to the position of unpaid servants of rich farmers and landlords. While promising women a happy home and

family life, it drives women to prostitution more than any other capitalist regime.

Communists, above all our women Communists, must remember that there cannot be a successful fight against fascism and war unless the wide masses of women are drawn into the struggle. Agitation alone will not accomplish this. Taking into account the concrete situation in each instance, we must find a way of mobilizing the mass of women by work around their vital interests and demands – in a fight for their demands against high prices, for higher wages on the basis of the principle of equal pay for equal work, against mass dismissals, against every manifestation of inequality in the status of women and against fascist enslavement.

In endeavouring to draw women who work into the revolutionary movement, we must not be afraid of forming separate women's organizations for this purpose, wherever necessary. The preconceived notion that the women's organizations under Communist Party leadership in the capitalist countries should be liquidated, as part of the struggle against 'women's separatism' in the labour movement, has often done great harm.

The simplest and most flexible forms should be sought to establish contact and a joint struggle between the revolutionary, Social Democratic and progressive anti-war and anti-fascist women's organizations. We must spare no pains to see that the women workers and working women in general fight shoulder to shoulder with their class brothers in the ranks of the united working class front and the anti-fascist Popular Front.

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT

The changed international and internal situation lends exceptional importance to the question of *the anti-imperialist united front* in all colonial and semi-colonial countries.

In forming a broad anti-imperialist united front of struggle in the colonies and semi-colonies it is necessary above all to recognize the variety of conditions in which the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses is proceeding, the varying degree of maturity of the national liberation movement, the role of the proletariat within it and the influence of the Communist Party over the masses.

In Brazil the problem differs that in India, China and other countries.

In *Brazil* the Communist Party, having laid a correct foundation for the development of the united anti-imperialist front by the establishment of the National Liberation Alliance¹³, must make every effort to extend this front by drawing into it first and foremost the many millions of the peasantry, leading up to the formation of units of a people's revolutionary army, completely devoted to the revolution and to the establishment of a government of the National Liberation Alliance.

In *India* the Communists must support, extend and participate in all anti-imperialist mass activities, not excluding those which are under national reformist leadership. While maintaining their political and organizational independence, they must carry on active work inside the organizations which take part in the Indian National Congress, facilitating the process of crystallization of a national revolutionary wing among them, for the purpose of further developing the national liberation movement of the Indian peoples against British imperialism.

In *China*, where the people's movement has already led to the formation of Soviet districts over a considerable territory of the country and to the organization of a powerful Red Army, the predatory offensive of Japanese imperialism and the treason of the Nanking government have brought into jeopardy the national existence of the great Chinese people. The Chinese Soviets act as a unifying centre in the struggle against the enslavement and partition of China by the imperialists, as a unifying centre which will rally all anti-imperialist forces for the national defence of the Chinese people.

We therefore approve the initiative taken by our

courageous brother Party of China in the creation of a most extensive anti-imperialist united front against Japanese imperialism and its Chinese agents, jointly with all those organized forces existing on the territory of China which are ready to wage a real struggle for the salvation of their country and their people.

I am sure that I express the sentiments and thoughts of our entire Congress in saying that we send our warmest fraternal greetings, in the name of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world, to all the Soviets in China, to the Chinese revolutionary people. We send our ardent fraternal greetings to the heroic Red Army of China, tried in a thousand battles. And we assure the Chinese people of our firm resolve to support its struggle for its complete liberation from all imperialist robbers and their Chinese agents.

A UNITED FRONT GOVERNMENT

Comrades, we have taken a bold, resolute course towards the united front of the working class, and are ready to carry it out with full consistency.

If we Communists are asked whether we advocate the united front *only* in the fight for partial demands, or whether we are prepared to share the responsibility even when it will be a question of forming a government on the basis of the united front, then we say with a full sense of our responsibility: Yes, we recognize that a situation may arise in which the formation of a *government of the proletarian united front*, or of an *anti-fascist Popular Front*, will become not only possible but necessary in the interest of the proletariat. And in that case we shall advocate for the formation of such a government without the slightest hesitation.

I am not speaking here of a government which may be formed *after* the victory of the proletarian revolution. It is not impossible, of course, that in some country, immediately after the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie,

there may be formed a Soviet government on the basis of a government bloc of the Communist Party with a certain party (or its left wing) participating in the revolution. After the October Revolution the victorious Party of the Russian Bolsheviks, as we know, included representatives of the Left 'Essers' Socialist-Revolutionaries in the Soviet Government. This was a specific feature of the first Soviet government after the victory of the October Revolution.

I am not speaking of such a case, but of the possible formation of a united front government on the eve of and before the victory of the Soviet revolution.

What kind of government is this? And in what situation could there be any question of such a government?

It is primarily a *government of struggle against fascism and reaction*. It must be a government arising as the result of the united front movement and in no way restricting the activity of the Communist Party and the mass organizations of the working class, but on the contrary, taking resolute measures against the counter-revolutionary financial magnates and their fascist agents.

At a suitable moment, relying on the growing united front movement, the Communist Party of a given country will advocate the formation of such a government on the basis of a well-defined anti-fascist platform.

Under what objective conditions will it be possible to form such a government? In the most general terms, one can reply to this question as follows: under conditions of a *political crisis*, when the ruling classes are no longer able to cope with the powerful rise of the mass anti-fascist movement. But this is only a general perspective, without which it will scarcely be possible in practice to form a united front government. Only the existence of certain *special prerequisites* can put on the agenda the question of forming such a government as a politically essential task. It seems to me that the following prerequisites deserve the greatest attention in this connection:

First, the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie must already be sufficiently *disorganized and paralyzed*, so the bourgeoisie cannot prevent the formation of a government of struggle against reaction and fascism.

Second, the widest masses of working people, particularly the mass trade unions, must be in a state of vehement revolt *against fascism and reaction*, though *not ready* to rise in insurrection so as to *fight under Communist Party leadership for the establishment of a Soviet government*.

Third, the differentiation and radicalization in the ranks of Social Democracy and other parties participating in the united front must already have reached the point where a considerable proportion of them demand *ruthless measures against the fascists and other reactionaries*, fight together with the Communists against fascism and openly oppose the reactionary section of their own party which is hostile to communism.

When and in what countries a situation will actually arise in which these prerequisites will be present in a sufficient degree, it is impossible to state in advance. But as such a possibility *is not to be ruled out in any of the capitalist countries*, we must reckon with it, and not only orientate and prepare ourselves, but also orientate the working class accordingly.

The fact that we are bringing up this question for discussion at all today is, of course, connected with our estimate of the situation and immediate prospects, as well as with the actual growth of the united front movement in a number of countries during the recent past. For more than ten years the situation in the capitalist countries was such that it was not necessary for the Communist International to discuss a question of this kind.

You remember, Comrades, that at our Fourth Congress in 1922, and again at the Fifth Congress in 1924, the question of the slogan of a *workers', or a workers' and peasant's government* was under discussion. Originally the issue turned essentially upon a question which was almost comparable to the one we are discussing today. The debates that took place at that time in the Communist International around this question, and in particular the *political errors* which were committed in connection with it, have to this day retained their importance for *sharpening our vigilance against the danger of deviations to the Right or 'Left' from the Bolshevik line* on this question. Therefore I shall

briefly point out a few of these errors, in order to draw from them the lessons necessary for the present policy of our Parties.

The first series of mistakes arose from the fact that the question of a workers' government was not clearly and firmly bound up with the existence of a political crisis. Owing to this, the *Right opportunists* were able to interpret matters as though we should strive for the formation of a workers' government, supported by the Communist Party, in any, so to speak, 'normal' situation. The *ultra-Lefts*, on the other hand, recognized only a workers' government formed by an armed insurrection after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Both views were wrong. In order, therefore, to avoid a repetition of such mistakes, we now lay great stress on the exact consideration of the specific, concrete circumstances of the political crisis and the upsurge of the mass movement, in which the formation of a united front government may prove possible and politically necessary.

The second series of errors arose from the fact that the question of a workers' government was not bound up with the development of a militant mass *united front movement of the proletariat*. Thus the *Right opportunists* were able to distort the question, reducing it to the unprincipled tactics of forming blocs with Social Democratic Parties on the basis of purely parliamentary combinations.

The *ultra-Lefts*, on the contrary, shrieked: 'No coalitions with counter-revolutionary social democracy!', considering all social democrats as essentially counter-revolutionary.

Both were wrong, and we now emphasize, on the one hand, that we are not in the least anxious for a 'workers' government' that would be nothing more nor less than an enlarged Social Democratic government. We even prefer not to use the term 'workers' governments,' and speak of a *united front government*, which in political character is something absolutely different, *different in principle*, from all the Social Democratic governments which usually call themselves 'workers' (or labour) governments.' While the Social Democratic government is an instrument of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie in the interests of the

preservation of the capitalist order, a *united front government* is an instrument of the collaboration of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat with other anti-fascist parties, in the interests of the entire working population, a government of struggle against fascism and reaction. Obviously there is a *radical difference* between these two things.

On the other hand, we stress the need to see the *difference between the two different camps of Social Democracy*. As I have already pointed out, there is a reactionary camp of Social Democracy; but alongside with it there exists and is growing the camp of the Left Social Democrats (without quotation marks), of workers who are becoming revolutionary. In practice the decisive difference between them consists in their attitude towards the united front of the working class. The reactionary Social Democrats are *against* the united front; they slander the united front movement, they sabotage and disintegrate it, as it undermines their policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie. The Left Social Democrats are *for the united front*; they defend, develop and strengthen the united front movement. Inasmuch as this united front movement is a militant movement against fascism and reaction, it will be a constant driving force, impelling the united front government to struggle against the reactionary bourgeoisie. The more powerful this mass movement, the greater the force with which it can back the government in combating the reactionaries. And the better this mass movement will be organized *from below*, the wider the network of *non-party class organs of the united front in the factories*, among the *unemployed*, in the workers' districts among the *small people of town and country*, the greater will be the guarantee against a possible degeneration of the policy of the united front government.

The third series of mistaken views which came to light during our former debates touched precisely on the practical policy of the 'workers' government'. The right opportunists considered that a 'workers' government' ought to keep 'within the framework of bourgeois democracy,' and consequently ought not to take any steps going beyond this framework. The *ultra-Lefts*, on the other hand, in practice

refused to make any attempt to form a united front government.

In 1923 Saxony and Thuringia presented a clear picture of a Right opportunist 'workers' government' in action. The entry of the Communists into the Workers' Government of Saxony jointly with the Left Social Democrats (Zeigner group) was no mistake in itself; on the contrary, the revolutionary situation in Germany fully justified this step. But in taking part in the government, the Communists should have used their positions primarily for the purpose of arming the proletariat. This they did not do. They did not even requisition a single apartment of the rich, although the housing shortage among the workers was so great that many of them with their wives and children were still without a roof over their heads. They also did nothing to organize the revolutionary mass movement of the workers. They behaved in general like ordinary parliamentary ministers 'within the framework of bourgeois democracy.' As you know, this was the result of the opportunist policy of Brandler and his adherents. The result was such bankruptcy that to this day we have to refer to the government of Saxony as the classical example of how revolutionaries *should not behave* when in office.

Comrades, we demand an entirely different policy from a united front government. We demand that it should carry out *definite and fundamental revolutionary demands* required by the situation. For instance, control of production, control of the banks, disbanding of the police and its replacement by an armed workers' militia, etc.

Fifteen years ago Lenin called upon us to focus all our attention on 'searching out forms of transition or approach to the proletariat revolution.' It may be that in a number of countries the *united front government* will prove to be one of the most important transitional forms. 'Left' doctrinaires have always avoided this precept of Lenin's. Like the narrow-minded propagandists that they were, they spoke only of 'aims,' without ever worrying about 'forms of transition.' The Right opportunists, on the other hand, have tried to establish a *special democratic intermediate stage* lying between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the

dictatorship of the proletariat, for the purpose of instilling into the workers the illusion of a peaceful parliamentary passage from the one dictatorship to the other. This fictitious 'intermediate stage' they have also called 'transitional form,' and even quoted Lenin's words. But this piece of swindling was not difficult to expose: for Lenin spoke of the form of transition and approach to the *proletarian revolution*, that is, to the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship, and not of some transitional form *between* the bourgeois and the proletarian dictatorship.

Why did Lenin attach such exceptionally great importance to the form of transition to the proletarian revolution? Because he had in mind *the fundamental law of all great revolutions*, the law that for the masses propaganda and agitation alone cannot take the place of *their own political experience*, when it is a question of attracting really broad masses of the working people to the side of the revolutionary vanguard, without which a victorious struggle for power is impossible. It is a common mistake of a 'Leftist' character to imagine that as soon as a political (or revolutionary) crisis arises, it is enough for the Communist leaders to put forth the slogan of revolutionary insurrection, and the broad masses will follow them. No, even in such a crisis the masses are by no means always ready to do so. We saw this in the case of *Spain*. To help the millions to master as rapidly as possible, through their own experience, what they have to do, where to find a radical solution, and what Party is worthy of their confidence — these among others are the purposes for which both transitional slogans and special 'forms of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution' are necessary. Otherwise the great mass of the people, who are under the influence of petty bourgeois democratic illusions and traditions, may waver even when there is a revolutionary situation, may procrastinate and stray, without finding the road to revolution — and then come under the axe of the fascist executioners.

That is why we indicate the possibility of forming an anti-fascist united front government in the conditions of a political crisis. In so far as such a government will really

prosecute the struggle against the enemies of the people, and give a free hand to the working class and the Communist Party, we Communists shall accord it our unstinted support, and as soldiers of the revolution shall take our place *in the first line of fire*. But we state frankly to the masses: *Final salvation* this government cannot bring. It is not in a position to overthrow the class rule of the exploiters, and for this reason cannot finally remove the danger of fascist counter-revolution. Consequently *it is necessary to prepare for the socialist revolution*. Soviet power and only Soviet power can bring salvation.

In estimating the present development of the world situation, we see that a *political crisis* is maturing in quite a number of countries. This makes a firm decision by our Congress on the question of a united front government a matter of great urgency and importance.

If our parties are able to utilize in a Bolshevik fashion the opportunity of forming a united front government and of waging the struggle for the formation and maintenance in power of such a government, *for the revolutionary training of the masses*, this will be the *best political justification* of our policy in favour of the formation of united front governments.

THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

One of the weakest aspects of the anti-fascist struggle of our Parties is that *they react inadequately and too slowly to the demagogy of fascism*, and to this day continue to neglect the problems of the struggle against fascist ideology. Many comrades did not believe that so reactionary a brand of bourgeois ideology as the ideology of fascism, which in its stupidity frequently reaches the point of lunacy, would be able to gain any mass influence. This was a serious mistake. The putrefaction of capitalism penetrates to the innermost core of its ideology and culture, while the desperate situation of wide masses of the people renders certain sections of them susceptible to infection from the ideological refuse of this putrefaction.

Under no circumstances must we underrate fascism's power of ideological infection. On the contrary, we for our part must develop an extensive ideological struggle based on clear, popular arguments and a correct, well thought out approach to the peculiarities of the national psychology of the masses of the people.

The fascists are rummaging through the entire *history* of every nation so as to be able to pose as the heirs and continuators of all that was exalted and heroic in its past, while all that was degrading or offensive to the national sentiments of the people they make use of as weapons against the enemies of fascism. Hundreds of books are being published in Germany with only one aim – to falsify the history of the German people and give it a fascist complexion. The new-baked National Socialist historians try to depict the history of Germany as if for the past two thousand years, by virtue of some historical law, a certain line of development had run through it like a red thread, leading to the appearance on the historical scene of a national 'saviour', a 'Messiah' of the *German* people, a certain 'Corporal' of *Austrian* extraction. In these books the greatest figures of the German people of the past are represented as having been fascists, while the great peasant movements are set down as the direct precursors of the fascist movement.

Mussolini does his utmost to make capital for himself out of the heroic figure of Garibaldi. The French fascists bring to the fore as their heroine Joan of Arc. The American fascists appeal to the traditions of the American War of Independence, the traditions of Washington and Lincoln. The Bulgarian fascists make use of the national-liberation movement of the seventies and its heroes beloved by the people, Vassil Levski, Stefan Karadja and others.

Communists who suppose that all this has nothing to do with the cause of the working class, who do nothing to the masses on the past of their people, in a historically correct fashion, in a genuinely Marxist, a Leninist-Marxist spirit, who do nothing *to link up the present struggle with the people's revolutionary traditions and past* – voluntarily hand

over to the fascist falsifiers all that is valuable in the historical past of the nation, so that they may dupe the masses.

No, Comrades, we are concerned with every important question, not only of the present and the future, but also of the past of our own peoples. We Communists do not pursue a narrow policy based on the craft interests of the workers. We are not narrow-minded trade union functionaries, or leaders of medieval guilds of handicraftsmen and journeymen. We are the representatives of the class interests of the most important, the greatest class of modern society – the working class, to whose destiny it falls to free mankind from the sufferings of the capitalist system, the class which in one sixth of the world has already cast off the yoke of capitalism and constitutes the ruling class. We defend the vital interests of all the exploited, toiling strata, that is, of the overwhelming majority in any capitalist country.

We Communists are the irreconcilable opponents, in principle, of bourgeois nationalism in all its forms. But we are not supporters of national nihilism, and should never act as such. The task of educating the workers and all working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism is one of the fundamental tasks of every Communist Party. But anyone who thinks that this permits him, or even compels him, to sneer at all the national sentiments of the broad masses of working people is far from being a genuine Bolshevik, and has understood nothing of the teaching of Lenin on the national question.

Lenin, who always fought bourgeois nationalism resolutely and consistently, gave us an example of the correct approach to the problem of national sentiments in his article 'On the National Pride of the Great Russians' written in 1914. He wrote:

Are we class-conscious Great-Russian proletarians impervious to the feeling of national pride? Certainly not. We love our language and our motherland; we, more than any other group, are working to raise its labouring masses (i.e., nine-tenths of its population) to the level of intelligent democrats and Socialists. We, more than anybody are grieved to see and feel to what violence, oppression and mockery our beautiful

motherland is being subjected by the tsarist hangmen, the nobles and the capitalists. We are proud of the fact that those acts of violence met with resistance in our midst, in the midst of the Great Russians; that this midst brought forth Radishchev, the Decembrists, the intellectuals revolutionaries of the 'seventies; that in 1905 the Great Russian working class created a powerful revolutionary party of the masses...

We are filled with national pride because of the knowledge that the Great-Russian nation, too, has created a revolutionary class, that it, too, has proved capable of giving humanity great example of struggle for freedom and for socialism; that its contribution is not confined solely to great pogroms, numerous scaffolds, torture chambers, severe famines and abject servility before the priests, the tsars, the landowners and the capitalists.

We are filled with national pride, and therefore we particularly hate our slavish past... and our slavish present, in which the same landowners, aided by the capitalists, lead us into war to stifle Poland and the Ukraine, to throttle the democratic movement in Persia and in China, to strengthen the gang of Romanovs, Bobrinskis, Purishkeviches that cover with shame our Great-Russian national dignity.*

This is what Lenin wrote in national pride.

I think, Comrades, that when at the Reichstag Fire Trial the fascists tried to slander the Bulgarians as a barbarous people, I was not wrong in taking up the defence of the national honour of the working masses of the Bulgarian people, who are struggling heroically against the fascist the real barbarians and savages, nor was I wrong in declaring that I had no cause to be ashamed of being a Bulgarian, but that, on the contrary, I was proud of being a son of the heroic Bulgarian working class.

Comrades, proletarian internationalism must, so to speak, 'acclimatize itself' in each country in order to strike deep roots in its native land. National forms of the proletarian class struggle and of the labour movement in the individual countries are in no contradiction to proletarian internationalism; on the contrary, it is precisely in these forms that the international interests of the proletariat can be successfully defended.

It goes without saying that it is necessary everywhere and on all occasions to expose before the masses and prove to them concretely that the fascist bourgeoisie, on the pretext of defending general national interests, is conducting its

*V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 21, pp. 85-86

selfish policy of oppressing and exploiting its own people, as well as robbing and enslaving other nations. But *we must not confine ourselves to this*. We must at the same time prove by the very struggle of the working class and the actions of the Communist Parties that the proletariat, in rising against every manner of bondage and national oppression, is the *only* true fighter for national freedom and the independence of the people.

The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat against its native exploiters and oppressors are not in contradiction to the interests of a free and happy future of the nation. On the contrary, the socialist revolution will signify *the salvation of the nation* and will open up to it the road to loftier heights. By the *very fact* of building at the present time its class organizations and consolidating its positions, by the very fact of defending democratic rights and liberties against fascism, by the *very fact* of fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the working class is fighting for the future of the nation.

The revolutionary proletariat is fighting to save the culture of the people, to liberate it from the shackles of decaying monopoly capitalism, from barbarous fascism, which is laying violent hands on it. *Only* the proletarian revolution can avert the destruction of culture and raise it to its highest flowering as a truly national culture — *national in form and socialist in content* — which is being realized in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics before our very eyes.

Proletarian internationalism not only is not in contradiction to this struggle of the working people of the individual countries for national, social and cultural freedom, but, thanks to international proletarian solidarity and fighting unity, assures *the support* that is necessary for victory in this struggle. The working class in the capitalist countries can triumph *only in the closest alliance* with the victorious proletariat of the great Soviet Union. *Only* by struggling hand in hand with the proletariat of the imperialist countries can the colonial peoples and oppressed national minorities achieve their freedom. The *sole* road to victory for the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries lies

through the revolutionary alliance of the working class of the imperialist countries with the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries, because, as *Marx* taught us, 'no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations.'

Communists belonging to an oppressed, dependent nation cannot combat chauvinism successfully among the people of their own nation if they do not *at the same time show* in practice, in the mass movement, that they actually struggle for the liberation of their nation from the alien yoke. And again, on the other hand, the Communists of an oppressing nation cannot do what is necessary to educate the working masses of their nation in the spirit of internationalism *without waging* a resolute struggle against the oppressor policy of their 'own' bourgeoisie, for the right of complete self-determination for the nations kept in bondage by it. If they do not do this, they likewise do not make it easier for the working people of the oppressed nation to overcome their nationalist prejudices.

If we act in this spirit, if in all our mass work we prove convincingly that we are free of both national nihilism and bourgeois nationalism, then and only then shall we be able to wage a really successful struggle against the jingo demagoguery of the fascists.

That is the reason why a correct and practical application of the Leninist national policy is of such paramount importance. It is *unquestionably an essential* preliminary condition for a successful struggle against chauvinism — this main instrument of ideological influence of the fascists upon the masses.

III. CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL UNITY OF THE PROLETARIAT

Comrades, in the struggle to establish a united front the importance of the leading role of the Communist Party increases extraordinarily. Only the Communist Party is at bottom the initiator, the organizer and the driving force of the united front of the working class.

The Communist Parties can ensure the mobilization of the broadest masses of working people for a united struggle against fascism and the offensive of capital *only if they strengthen their own ranks in every respect*, if they develop their initiative, pursue a Marxist-Leninist policy and apply correct, flexible tactics which take into account the actual situation and alignment of class forces.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

In the period between the Sixth and Seventh Congress, our Parties in the capitalist countries have undoubtedly *grown in stature and have been considerably steeled*. But it would be a most dangerous mistake to rest content with this achievement. The more the united front of the working class extends, the more will new, complex problems arise before us and the more will it be necessary for us to work in the political and organizational consolidation of our Parties. The united front of the proletariat brings to the fore an army of workers who will be able to carry out their mission if this army is headed by a leading force which will point out its aims and paths. This leading force can *only be a strong proletarian, revolutionary party*.

If we Communists exert every effort to establish a united front, we do this not for the narrow purpose of recruiting new members for the Communist Parties. But we must strengthen the Communist Parties in every way and increase their membership *for the very reason that* we seriously want to strengthen the united front. The strengthening of the Communist Parties is not a narrow Party concern but the concern of the entire working class.

The unity, revolutionary solidarity and fighting preparedness of the Communist Parties constitute a most valuable capital which belongs not only to us but to the whole working class. We have combined and shall continue to combine our readiness to march jointly with the Social Democratic Parties and organizations to the struggle against fascism with an irreconcilable struggle against Social Democracy as the ideology and practice of compromise with the bour-

geoisie, and consequently also against *any penetration* of this ideology into our own ranks.

In boldly and resolutely carrying out the policy of the united front, we meet in our own ranks with obstacles which we must remove at all costs in the shortest possible time.

After the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, *a successful struggle was waged in all Communist Parties of the capitalist countries against any tendency towards an opportunist adaptation to the conditions of capitalist stabilization and against any infection with reformist and legalist illusions*. Our Parties purged their ranks of various kinds of Right opportunists, thus strengthening their Bolshevik unity and fighting capacity. Less successful, and frequently entirely lacking, was the fight against *sectarianism*. Sectarianism no longer manifested itself in primitive, open forms, as in the first years of the existence of the Communist International, but, under cover of a formal recognition of the Bolshevik theses, hindered the development of a Bolshevik mass policy. In our day this is often no longer an 'infantile disorder,' as Lenin wrote, but *a deeply rooted vice*, which must be shaken off or it will be impossible to solve the problem of establishing the united front of the proletariat and of leading the masses from the positions of reformism to the side of revolution.

In the present situation sectarianism, *self-satisfied* sectarianism, as we designate it in the draft resolution, *more than anything else* impedes our struggle for the realization of the united front: sectarianism, satisfied with its *doctrinaire narrowness*, its divorce from the real life of the masses, satisfied with its *simplified methods* of solving the most complex problems of the working class movement on the basis of stereotype schemes; sectarianism which professes to know all and considers it superfluous to learn from the masses, from the lessons of the labour movement; in short, sectarianism, to which as they say, mountains are mere stepping stones. Self-satisfied sectarianism *will not and cannot* understand that the leadership of the working class by the Communist Party does not come of itself. The leading role of the Communist Party in the struggles of the working

class must be won. For this purpose it is necessary, not to rant about the leading role of the Communists, but *to earn and win the confidence of the working masses* by everyday mass work and a correct policy. This will be possible only if in our political work we Communists seriously take into account the actual level of the class consciousness of the masses, the degree to which they have become revolutionized, if we soberly appraise the actual situation, not on the basis of our wishes but on the basis of the actual state of affairs. Patiently, step by step, we must make it easier for the broad masses to come over to the Communist position. We ought never to forget the words of Lenin, who warns us as strongly as possible:

.....
... This is the whole point – we must not regard that which is obsolete for us, is obsolete for the class, is obsolete for the masses*.

Is it not a fact, Comrades, that in our ranks there are still quite a few such doctrinaire elements, who at all times and places sense nothing but danger in the policy of the united front? For such comrades the whole united front is one unrelieved peril. But this sectarian 'sticking to principle' is nothing but political helplessness in face of the difficulties of directly leading the struggle of the masses.

Sectarianism find expression *particularly* in overestimating the revolution of the masses, in overestimating the speed at which they are abandoning the positions of reformism, and in attempting to leap over difficult stages and the complicated tasks of the movement. In practice, methods of leading the masses have frequently been replaced by the methods of leading a narrow party group. The strength of the traditional tie-up between the masses and their organizations and leaders was underestimated, and when the masses did not break off these connections, immediately the attitude taken toward them was just as harsh as that adopted toward their reactionary leaders. Tactics and slogans have tended to become stereotype for all countries, the special features of the actual situation in each individual country being left out of ac-

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 40 (Russian edition) 'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder (English edition)

count. The necessity of stubborn struggle in the very midst of the masses themselves to win their confidence has been ignored, the struggle for the partial demands of the workers and work in the reformist trade unions and fascist mass organizations have been neglected. The policy of the united front has frequently been replaced by bare appeals and abstract propaganda.

In no less a degree have sectarian views hindered the correct selection of people, the training and developing of *cadres connected* with the masses, *enjoying* the confidence of the masses, *cadres whose revolutionary mettle has been tried and tested* in class battles, *cadres capable of combining the practical experience of mass work with a Bolshevik staunchness of principle*.

Thus sectarianism has to a considerable extent retarded the growth of the Communist Parties, made it difficult to carry out a real mass policy, prevented our taking advantage of the difficulties of the class enemy to strengthen the positions of the revolutionary movement, and hindered the winning over of the broad masses of the proletariat to the side of the Communist Parties.

While fighting most resolutely to overcome and exterminate the last remnants of self-satisfied sectarianism, we must increase in every way our vigilance toward *Right opportunism* and the struggle against it and against every one of its concrete manifestations, bearing in mind that the danger of Right opportunism will increase in proportion as the broad united front develops. Already there are tendencies to reduce the role of the Communist Party in the ranks of the united front and to effect a reconciliation with Social Democratic ideology. Nor must we lose sight of the fact that the tactics of the united front are a method of clearly convincing the Social Democratic workers of the correctness of the Communist policy and the incorrectness of the reformist policy, and that they are *not a reconciliation with Social Democratic ideology and practice*. A successful struggle to establish the united front imperatively demands constant struggle in our ranks against tendencies to *depreciate the role of the Party*, against *legalist illusions*, against reliance on

spontaneity and *automatism*, both in liquidating fascism and in implementing the united front against the slightest vacillation at the moment of decisive action.

POLITICAL UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

Comrades, the development of the united front of joint struggle of the Communist and Social Democratic workers against fascism and the offensive of capital also brings to the fore the question of *political unity*, of a *single political mass party of the working class*. The Social Democratic workers are becoming more and more convinced by experience that the struggle against the class enemy demands unity of political leadership, inasmuch as *duality in leadership* impedes the further development and reinforcement of the joint struggle of the working class.

The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat and the success of the proletarian revolution make it imperative that there be *a single party of the proletariat* in each country. Of course, it is not so easy or simple to achieve this. It requires stubborn work and struggle and is bound to be a more or less lengthy process. The Communist Parties, basing themselves on the growing urge of the workers for a unification of the Social Democratic Parties or of individual organizations with the Communist Parties, must firmly and confidently take the initiative in this unification. The cause of amalgamating the forces of the working class in a single revolutionary proletarian party at time when the international labour movement is entering the period of closing the split in its ranks, *is our cause*, is the cause of the Communist International.

But while it is sufficient for the establishment of the united front of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties to have an agreement to fight against fascism, the offensive of capital and war, the achievement of political unity is possible only on the basis of a number of certain conditions involving principles.

This unification is possible only on the following conditions:

First, complete independence from the bourgeoisie and dissolution of the bloc of Social Democracy with the bourgeoisie;

Second, preliminary unity of action;

Third, recognition of the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets a sine qua non;

Fourth, refusal to support one's own bourgeoisie in an imperialist war;

Fifth, building up the Party on the basis of democratic centralism, which ensures unity of purpose and action, and which has been tested by the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks.

We must explain to the Social Democratic workers, patiently and in comradely fashion, why political unity of the working class is impossible without these conditions. We must discuss together with them the sense and significance of these conditions.

Why is it necessary for the realization of the political unity of the proletariat that there be complete independence from the bourgeoisie and a rupture of the bloc of Social Democrats with the bourgeoisie?

Because the whole experience of the labour movement, particularly the experience of the fifteen years of coalition policy in Germany, has shown that the policy of class collaboration, the policy of dependence on the bourgeoisie, leads to the defeat of the working class and to the victory of fascism. And the only true road to victory is the road of irreconcilable class struggle against the bourgeoisie, the road of the Bolsheviks.

Why must unity of action be first established as a preliminary condition of political unity?

Because unity of action to repel the offensive of capital and of fascism is possible and necessary even before the majority of the workers are united on a common political platform for the overthrow of capitalism, while the working out of unity of views on the main lines and aims of the struggle of the proletariat, without which a unification of the parties is impossible, requires a more or less extended period of time. And unity of views is worked out

best of all in joint struggle against the class enemy already today. To propose to unite at once instead of forming a united front means to place the cart before the horse and to imagine that the cart will then move ahead. Precisely for the reason that for us the question of political unity is not a manoeuvre, as it is for many Social Democratic leaders, we insist on the realization of unity of action as one of the most important stages in the struggle for political unity.

Why is it necessary to recognize the necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviet power?

Because the experience of the victory of the great October Revolution, on the one hand and, on the other, the bitter lessons learned in Germany, Austria and Spain during the entire post-war period have confirmed once more that the victory of the proletariat is possible only by means of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and that the bourgeoisie would rather drown the labour movement in a sea of blood than allow the proletariat to establish socialism by peaceful means. The experience of the October Revolution has demonstrated patently that the basic content of the proletarian revolution is the question of the proletarian dictatorship, which is called upon to crush the resistance of the overthrown exploiters, to arm the revolution for the struggle against imperialism and to lead the revolution to the complete victory of socialism. To achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat as the dictatorship of the vast majority over an insignificant minority, over the exploiters – and only as such can it be brought about – for this Soviets are needed embracing all sections of the working class, the basic masses of the peasantry and the rest of the working people, without whose awakening, without whose inclusion in the front of the revolutionary struggle, the victory of the proletariat cannot be consolidated.

Why is the refusal of support to the bourgeoisie in an imperialist war a condition of political unity?

Because the bourgeoisie wages imperialist wars for its predatory purposes, against the interests of the vast majori-

ty of the peoples, under whatever guise this war may be waged. Because all imperialists combine their feverish preparations for war with extremely intensified exploitation and oppression of the working people in their own country. Support of the bourgeoisie in such a war means treason to the country and the international working class.

Why, finally, is the building of the Party on the basis of democratic centralism a condition of unity?

Because only a party built on the basis of democratic centralism can ensure unity of purpose and action, can lead the proletariat to victory over the bourgeoisie, which has at its disposal so powerful a weapon as the centralized state apparatus. The application of the principle of democratic centralism has stood the splendid historical test of the experience of the Russian Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin.

This explains why it is necessary to strive for political unity on the basis of the conditions indicated.

We are for the political unity of the working class. Therefore, we are ready to collaborate most closely with all Social Democrats who are for the united front and sincerely support unity on the above-mentioned principles.

But precisely because we are for unity, we shall struggle resolutely against all 'Left' demagogues who try to make use of the disillusionment of the Social Democratic workers to create new Socialist Parties or Internationals directed against the Communist movement, and thus keep deepening the split in the working class.

We welcome the growing efforts among Social Democratic workers for a united front with the Communists. In this fact we see a growth of their revolutionary consciousness and a beginning of the healing of the split in the working class. Being of the opinion that unity of action is a pressing necessity and the truest road to the establishment of the political unity of the proletariat as well, we declare that *the Communist International and its Sections are ready to enter into negotiations with the Second International and its Sections for the establishment of the unity of working class in the struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the menace of an imperialist war.*

CONCLUSION

Comrades, I am concluding my report. As you see, taking into account the change in the situation since the Sixth Congress and the lessons of our struggle, and relying on the degree of consolidation already achieved in our Parties, we are raising a number of questions today in a new way, primarily the question of the united front and of the approach to Social Democracy, the reformist trade unions and other mass organizations.

There are wiseacres who will sense in all this a digression from our basic positions, some sort of turn to the Right from the straight line of Bolshevism. Well, in my country, Bulgaria, they say that a hungry hen always dreams of millet. Let those political hens think so.

This interests us little. For us it is important that our own Parties and the broad masses throughout the world should correctly understand what we are striving for.

We would not be revolutionary Marxists, Leninists, worthy pupils of Marx, Engels, Lenin, if we did not suitably *reconstruct* our policies and tactics in accordance with the changing situation and the changes occurring in the world labour movement.

We would not be real revolutionaries if we did not learn from our own experience and the experience of the masses.

We want our Parties in the capitalist countries to come out and act as *real political parties of the working class*, to become in actual fact a *political factor* in the life of their countries, to pursue at all times an *active Bolshevik mass policy* and not confine themselves to *propaganda and criticism*, and *bare appeals to struggle for a proletarian dictatorship*.

We are *enemies of all cut-and-dried schemes*. We want to take into account the concrete situation at each moment, in each place, and not act according to a *fixed, stereotyped form* anywhere and everywhere, not to forget that in *varying* circumstances the position of the Communists cannot be *identical*.

We want soberly to take into account all stages in the

development of the class struggle and in the growth of the class consciousness of the masses themselves, to be able to locate and solve at each stage the *concrete* problems of the revolutionary movement corresponding to this stage.

We want to find a *common language* with the broadest masses for the purpose of struggling against the class enemy, to find ways of finally overcoming the *isolation of the revolutionary vanguard* from the masses of the proletariat and all other working people, as well as of overcoming the *fatal isolation of the working class itself* from its natural allies in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, against fascism.

We want to draw increasingly wide masses into the revolutionary class struggle and lead them to the proletarian revolution *proceeding from their vital interests and needs as the starting point, and their own experience as the basis*.

Following the example of our glorious Russian Bolsheviks, the example of the leading Party of the Communist International, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we want to combine the *revolutionary heroism* of the German, the Spanish, the Austrian and other Communists with *genuine revolutionary realism*, and put an end to the last remnants of scholastic tinkering with serious political questions.

We want to equip our Parties from every angle for the solution of the highly complex political problems confronting them. For this purpose we want to raise ever higher their *theoretical level*, to train them in the spirit of living Marxism-Leninism and not fossilized doctrinairism.

We want to eradicate from our ranks all *self-satisfied sectarianism*, which above all blocks our road to the masses and impedes the carrying out of a truly Bolshevik mass policy.

We want to intensify in every way the struggle against concrete manifestations of *Right opportunism*, bearing in mind that the danger from this side will arise precisely in the course of carrying out our mass policy and struggle.

We want the Communists of every country promptly to draw and apply *all the lessons* that can be drawn from their own experience as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. We want them *as quickly as possible to learn how*

to sail on the turbulent waters of class struggle, and not to remain on the shore as observers and registrars of the surging waves in the expectation of fine weather.

This is what we want.

And we want all this because only in this way will the working class at the head of all the working people, welded into a million-strong revolutionary army, led by the Communist International, be able to fulfil its historical mission with certainty – to sweep fascism off the face of the earth and, together with it, capitalism.

All stand up and cheer Comrade Dimitrov heartily.

From all sides are heard shouts from the delegates in different languages: 'Long live Comrade Dimitrov!'

The mighty sounds of the International ring out in all languages. Renewed stormy applause.

The delegates sing the revolutionary songs of their countries. The Italians strike up *Bandiera Rossa*, the Poles *On the Barricades*, the French – *Carmagnole*, the Germans *Red Wedding*, the Chinese – *March of the Red Army of China*.

G. Dimitrov. *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 27-131
Published by the BCP, 1954

UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM

Concluding speech before the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, August 13, 1935

Comrades, the very full discussion on my report bear witness to the immense interest taken by the Congress in the fundamental tactical problems and tasks of the struggle of the working class against the offensive of capital and fascism, and against the threat of an imperialist war.

Summing up the eight-day discussion, we can state that all the principal propositions contained in the report have met with the unanimous approval of the Congress. None of the speakers objected to the tactical line we have proposed or to the resolution which has been submitted.

I venture to say that at none of the previous Congresses of the Communist International has such ideological and political solidarity been revealed as at the present Congress. The complete unanimity displayed at the Congress indicates that the necessity of revising our policy and tactics in accordance with the changed conditions and on the basis of the extremely abundant and instructive experience of the past few years, has come to be fully recognized in our ranks.

This unanimity may undoubtedly be regarded as one of the most important conditions for success in solving the paramount immediate problem of the international proletarian movement, namely, *establishing unity of action of all sections of the working class in the struggle against fascism*.

The successful solution of this problem requires, first, that Communists, skilfully wield the weapon of *Marxist-Leninist analysis*, while carefully studying the actual situa-

tion and the alignment of class forces as these develop and that they plan their activity and struggle accordingly. We must mercilessly root out the weakness not infrequently observed among our comrades, for cut-and-dried schemes, lifeless formulas and ready-made patterns. We must put an end to the state of affairs in which Communists, when lacking the knowledge or ability for Marxist-Leninist analysis, substitute for it general phrases and slogans such as 'the revolutionary way out of the crisis,' without making the slightest serious attempt to explain what must be the conditions, the relationship of class forces, the degree of revolutionary maturity of the proletariat and mass of working people, and the level of influence of the Communist Party for making possible such a revolutionary way out of the crisis. Without such an analysis all these catchwords become dud shells, empty phrases which only obscure our tasks of the day. Without a concrete Marxist-Leninist analysis we shall never be able correctly to present and solve the problem of fascism, the problems of the proletarian united front and the Popular Front, the problem of our attitude to bourgeois democracy, the problem of a united front government, the problem of the processes going on within the working class, particularly among the Social Democratic workers, or any of the numerous other new and complex problems with which life itself and the development of the class struggle confront us now and will confront us in the future.

Second, we need *live people* – people who have grown up from the masses of the workers, have sprung from their every-day struggle, people of militant action, wholeheartedly devoted to the cause of the proletariat, people whose brains and hands will give effect to the decisions of our Congress. Without Bolshevik, Leninist cadres we shall be unable to solve the enormous problems that confront the working people in the fight against fascism.

Third, we need people equipped with *the compass of Marxist-Leninist theory*, without the skilful use of which they turn into narrow-minded and shortsighted practitioners, unable to look ahead, who take decisions only from case to case, and lose the broad perspective of the struggle which

shows the masses where we are going and whither we are leading the working people.

Fourth, we need *the organization of the masses* in order to put our decisions into practice. Our ideological and political influence alone is not enough. We must put a stop to reliance on the hope that *the movement will develop of its own accord*, which is one of our fundamental weaknesses. We must remember that without persistent, prolonged, patient, and sometimes seemingly thankless organizational work on our part the masses will never make for the Communist shore. In order to be able to organize the masses we must acquire the Leninist art of making our decisions the property not only of the Communists but also of the widest masses of working people. We must learn to talk to the masses, not in the language of book formulas, but in the language of fighters for the cause of the masses, whose every word and every idea reflect the innermost thoughts and sentiments of millions.

It is primarily with these problems that I should like to deal in my reply to the discussion.

Comrades, the Congress has welcomed the new tactical lines with great enthusiasm and unanimity. Enthusiasm and unanimity are excellent things of course, but it is still better when these are combined with a deeply considered and critical approach to the tasks that confront us, with a proper mastery of the decisions adopted and a real understanding of the means and methods by which these decisions are to be applied to the particular circumstances of each country.

After all, we have unanimously adopted good resolutions before now, but the trouble was that we not infrequently adopted these decisions in a formal manner, and at best made them the property of only the small vanguard of the working class. Our decisions did not become flesh and blood for millions of people, nor a guide to their actions.

Can we assert that we have already finally abandoned this formal approach to adopted decisions? No. It must be said that even at this Congress the speeches of some of the comrades gave indication of vestiges of formalism, a desire

made itself felt at times to substitute for the concrete analysis of reality and living experience some sort of new scheme, some sort of new, over-simplified, lifeless formula, to represent as *actually existing* what we *desire*, but what does *not* yet exist.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM MUST BE CONCRETE

No general characterization of fascism, however correct in itself, can relieve us of the need to study and take into the special features of the development of fascism and the various forms of fascist dictatorship in the individual countries and at its various stages. It is necessary in each country to investigate, study and ascertain the national peculiarities, the specific national features of fascism and to map out accordingly effective methods and forms of struggle against fascism.

Lenin persistently warned us against such 'stereotyped methods, such mechanical levelling and identification of tactical rules, of rules of struggle.' This warning is particularly to the point when it is a question of fighting at enemy who so subtly and Jesuitically exploits the national sentiments and prejudices of the masses and the anti-capitalist inclinations in the interests of big capital. *Such an enemy must be known to perfection, from every angle.* We must, without any delay whatever, react to his various manoeuvres, discover his hidden moves, be prepared to repel him in any arena and at any moment. We must not hesitate even *to learn* from the enemy if that will help us more quickly and more effectively *to wring his neck*.

It would be a gross mistake to lay down any sort of universal scheme of the development of fascism, valid for all countries and all peoples. Such a scheme would not help but would hamper us in carrying on a real struggle. Apart from everything else, it would result in indiscriminately thrusting into the camp of fascism those sections of the population which, if properly approached, could at a certain stage of development be brought into the struggle against fascism or could at least be neutralized.

Let us take, for example, the development of fascism in France and in Germany. Some comrades believe that, generally speaking, fascism cannot develop as easily in France as in Germany. What is true and what is false in this contention? It is true that there were no such deep-seated democratic traditions in Germany as there are in France, which went through several revolutions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is true that France is a country which won the war and imposed the Versailles treaty on other countries, that the national sentiments of the French people have not been hurt as they have been in Germany, where this factor played such a great part. It is true that in France the basic masses of the peasantry are pro-republic and anti-fascist, especially in the south, in contrast to Germany where even before fascism came to power a considerable section of the peasantry was under the influence of reactionary parties.

But, Comrades, notwithstanding the existing differences in the development of the fascist movement in France and in Germany, notwithstanding the factors which impede the onslaught of fascism in France, it would be shortsighted not to notice the uninterrupted growth there of the fascist peril or to underestimate the possibility of a fascist *coup d'état*. Moreover, a number of factors in France favour the development of fascism. One must not forget that the economic crisis, which began later in France than in other capitalist countries, continues to become deeper and more acute, and that this greatly encourages the orgy of fascist demagoguery. French fascism holds strong positions in the army, among the officers, such as the National Socialists did not have in the Reichswehr before their advent to power. Furthermore, in no other country, perhaps, has the parliamentary regime been corrupted to such an enormous extent and caused such indignation among the masses as in France, and the French fascists, as we know, use this demagogically in their fight against bourgeois democracy. Nor must it be forgotten that the development of fascism is furthered by the French bourgeoisie's keen fear of losing its political and military hegemony in Europe.

Hence it follows that the successes scored by the an-

tifascist movement in France, of which Comrades Thorez and Chachin have spoken here and over which we so heartily rejoice, are still far from indicating that the working masses have definitely succeeded in blocking the road to fascism. We must emphatically stress once more the great importance of the tasks of the French working class in the struggle against fascism, of which I have already spoken in my report.

It would likewise be dangerous to cherish illusions regarding the weakness of fascism in other countries where it does not have a broad mass base. We have the example of such countries as Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Finland, where fascism, although it had no broad base, came to power, relying on the armed forces of the state and then sought to broaden its base by making use of the state apparatus.

Comrade Dutt was right in his contention that there has been a tendency among us to contemplate fascism in general, without taking into account the specific features of the fascist movement in the various countries, erroneously classifying all reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie as fascism and going so far as calling the entire non-Communist camp fascist. The struggle against fascism was not strengthened but rather weakened in consequence.

Even now we still have survivals of a stereotyped approach to the question of fascism. When some comrades assert that Roosevelt's 'New Deal' represents an even clearer and more pronounced form of the development of the bourgeoisie towards fascism than the 'National Government' in Great Britain, for example, is this not a manifestation of such a stereotyped approach to the question? One must be very partial to hackneyed schemes not to see that the most reactionary circles of American finance capital, which are attacking Roosevelt, are above all the very force which is stimulating and organizing the fascist movement in the United States. Not to see the beginnings of real fascism in the United States behind the hypocritical outpourings of these circles 'in defence of the democratic rights of the American citizen' is tantamount to misleading the working class in the struggle against its worst enemy.

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries also, as was mentioned in the discussion, certain fascist groups are developing, but of course there can be no question of the kind of fascism that we are accustomed to see in Germany, Italy and other capitalist countries. Here we must study and take into account the quite special economic, political and historical conditions in accordance with which fascism is assuming and will continue to assume peculiar forms of its own.

Unable to approach the phenomena of real life concretely, some comrades who suffer from mental laziness substitute general, *non-committal formulas* for a careful and concrete study of the actual situation and the relationship of class forces. They remind us, not of *sharpshooters* who shoot with unerring aim, but of those 'crack' riflemen who regularly and unfailingly *miss the target*, shooting either too high or too low, too near or too far. But, we, Comrades, as Communist fighters in the labour movement, as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, want to be sharpshooters who unfailingly hit the target.

UNITED PROLETARIAN FRONT OR ANTI-FASCIST POPULAR FRONT

Some comrades are quite needlessly racking their brains over the problem of *what to begin with* – the *united proletarian front* or the *anti-fascist Popular Front*.

Some say that we cannot start forming the anti-fascist Popular Front until we have organized a solid united front of the proletariat.

Others argue that, since the establishment of the united proletarian front meets in a number of countries with the resistance of the reactionary part of Social Democracy, it is better to start at once with building up the Popular Front, and then develop the united working class front on this basis.

Evidently both groups fail to understand that the united proletarian front and the anti-fascist Popular Front are connected by *the living dialectics of struggle*; that they are interwoven, the one passing into the other in the process of

the practical struggle against fascism, and that there is certainly no Chinese wall to them apart.

For it cannot be seriously supposed that it is possible to establish a genuine anti-fascist Popular Front without securing the unity of action of the working class itself, *the leading force* of this anti-fascist Popular Front. At the same time, the further development of the united proletarian front depends, to a considerable degree, upon its transformation into a Popular Front against fascism.

Comrades, just picture to yourselves a devotee of cut-and-dried theories of this kind, gazing upon our resolution and contriving his pet scheme with the zeal of a true pedant:

First, local united proletarian front from below;

Then, regional united front from below;

Thereafter, united front from above, passing through the same stages;

Then, unity in the trade union movement;

After that, the enlistment of other anti-fascist parties;

This to be followed by the extended Popular Front, from above and from below.

After which the movement must be raised to a higher level, politicized, revolutionized, and so on and so forth.

You will say, Comrades, that this is sheer nonsense. I agree with you. But the unfortunate thing is that in some form or other this kind of sectarian nonsense is still to be found quite frequently in our ranks.

How does the matter really stand? Of course, we must strive everywhere for a wide Popular Front of struggle against fascism. But in a number of countries we shall not get beyond general talk about the Popular Front unless we succeed in mobilizing the masses of the workers for the purpose of breaking down the resistance of the reactionary section of Social Democracy to the proletarian united front of struggle. Primarily this is how the matter stands in Great Britain, where the working class comprises the majority of the population and where the bulk of the working class follows the lead of the trade unions and the Labour Party. That is how matters stand in Belgium and

in the Scandinavian countries, where the numerically small Communist Parties must face strong mass trade unions and numerically large Social Democratic Parties.

In these countries the Communists would commit a very serious political mistake if they shirked the struggle to establish a united proletarian front, under cover of general talk about the Popular Front, which cannot be formed without the participation of the mass working class organizations. In order to bring about a genuine Popular Front in these countries, the Communists must carry out an enormous amount of political and organizational work among the masses of the workers. They must overcome the preconceived ideas of these masses, who regard their large reformist organizations as already the embodiment of proletarian unity. They must convince these masses that the establishment of a united front with the Communists means a shift on the part of those masses to the position of the class struggle, and that only this shift guarantees success in the struggle against the offensive of capital and fascism. We shall not overcome our difficulties by setting ourselves much wider tasks here. On the contrary, in fighting to remove these difficulties we shall, in fact and not in words alone, prepare the ground for the creation of a genuine Popular Front of struggle against fascism, against the capitalist offensive and against the threat of imperialist war.

The problem is different in countries like Poland, where a strong peasant movement is developing alongside the labour movement, where the peasant masses have their own organizations, which are becoming radicalized as a result of the agrarian crisis, and where national oppression evokes indignation among the national minorities. Here the development of the Popular Front of struggle will proceed parallel with the development of the united proletarian front, and at times in this type of country the movement for a general Popular Front may even outstrip the movement for a working-class front.

Take a country like Spain, which is in the process of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Can it be said that because the proletariat is split up into numerous small

organizations, complete fighting unity of the working class must first be established here before a workers' and peasants' front against Lerroux¹⁴ and Gil Robles¹⁵ is created? By tackling the question in this way we would isolate the proletariat from the peasantry, we would in effect be withdrawing the slogan of the agrarian revolution, and we would make it easier for the enemies of the people to disunite the proletariat and the peasantry and set the peasantry in opposition to the working class. Yet this, Comrades, as is well known, was one of the main reasons why the working class was defeated in the October events of 1934 in the Asturias.

However, one thing must not be forgotten in all countries, where the proletariat is comparatively small in numbers, where the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeois strata predominate, it is all the more necessary to make every effort to set up a firm united front of the working class itself, so that it may be able to take its place as the leading factor in relation to all the working people.

Thus, Comrades, in attacking the problem of the proletarian front and the Popular Front, there can be no general panacea suitable for all cases, all countries, all peoples. In this matter universalism, the application of one and the same recipe to all countries, is equivalent, if you will allow me to say so, to ignorance, and ignorance should be flogged, even when it stalks about, nay, particularly when it stalks about in the cloak of universal cut-and-dried schemes.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND ITS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE UNITED FRONT OF THE PROLETARIAT

Comrades, in view of the tactical problems confronting us, it is very important to give a correct reply to question of whether Social Democracy at the present time is still the principal bulwark of the bourgeoisie, and if so, where?

Some of the comrades who participated in the discussion (Comrades Florin, Dutt) touched upon this question but in view of its importance a fuller reply must be given to it, for it is a question which workers of all trends, par-

ticularly Social Democratic workers, are asking and cannot help asking.

It must be borne in mind that in a number of countries the position of Social Democracy in the bourgeois state, and its attitude towards the bourgeoisie, has been undergoing a change.

In the first place, the crisis has severely shaken the position of even the most secure sections of the working class, the so-called aristocracy of labour which, as we know, is the main support of Social Democracy. These sections, too, are beginning more and more to revise their views as to the expediency of the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

Second, as I pointed out in my report, the bourgeoisie in a number of countries is itself compelled to abandon bourgeois democracy and resort to the terroristic form of dictatorship, depriving Social Democracy not only of its previous position in the state system of finance capital, but also, under certain conditions, of its legal status, persecuting and even suppressing it.

Third, under the influence of the lessons learned from the defeat of the workers in Germany, Austria and Spain¹⁶, a defeat which was largely due to the Social Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and, on the other hand, under the influence of the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union as a result of Bolshevik policy and the application of revolutionary Marxism, the Social Democratic workers are becoming revolutionized and are beginning to turn to the class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The combined effect of this has been to make it increasingly difficult, and in some countries actually impossible, for Social Democracy to preserve its former role of a bulwark of the bourgeoisie.

Failure to understand this is particularly harmful in those countries where the fascist dictatorship has deprived Social Democracy of its legal status. From this point of view the self-criticism of those German comrades who in their speeches mentioned the necessity of ceasing to cling to the letter of obsolete formulas and decisions concerning Social

Democracy, of ceasing to ignore the changes that have taken place in its position, was correct. It is clear that if we ignore these changes, it will lead to a distortion of our policy for bringing about the unity of the working class, and will make it easier for the reactionary elements of the Social Democratic Parties to sabotage the united front.

The process of revolutionization in the ranks of the Social Democratic Parties, now going on in all countries, is developing unevenly. It must not be imagined that the Social Democratic workers who are becoming revolutionized will *at once* and on a mass scale pass over to the position of consistent class struggle and will *straightway* unite with the Communists without any intermediate stages. In a number of countries this will be a more or less difficult, complicated and prolonged process, essentially dependent, at any rate, on the correctness of our policy and tactics. We must even reckon with the possibility that, in passing from the position of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, some Social Democratic Parties and organizations will continue to exist for a time as independent organizations or parties. In such an event there can, of course, be no thought of such Social Democratic organizations or parties being regarded as a bulwark of the bourgeoisie.

It cannot be expected that those Social Democratic workers who are under the influence of the ideology of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, which has been instilled in them for decades, will break with this ideology of their own accord, by the action of objective causes alone. No. It is our business, the business of Communists, to help them free themselves from the hold of reformist ideology. The work of explaining the principles and programme of Communism must be carried on patiently, in a comradely fashion, and must be adapted to the degree of development of the individual Social Democratic workers. Our criticism of Social Democracy must become more concrete and systematic, and must be based on the experience of the Social Democratic masses themselves. It must be borne in mind that primarily by utilizing their experience in the joint struggle with the Communists against the class enemy

will it be possible and necessary to facilitate and speed up the revolutionary development of the Social Democratic workers. There is no more effective way for overcoming the doubts and hesitations of the Social Democratic workers than by their participation in the proletarian united front.

We shall do all in our power to make it easier, not only for the Social Democratic workers, but also for those leading members of the Social Democratic Parties and organizations who sincerely desire to adopt the revolutionary class position, to work and fight with us against the class enemy. At the same time we declare that any Social Democratic functionary, lower official or worker who continues to uphold the disruptive tactics of the reactionary Social Democratic leaders, who comes out against the united front and thus directly or indirectly aids the class enemy, will thereby incur at least equal guilt before the working class as those who are historically responsible for having supported the Social Democratic policy of class collaboration, the policy which in a number of European countries doomed the revolution in 1918 and cleared the way for fascism.

The attitude to the united front marks the watershed between the reactionary sections of Social Democracy and the sections that are becoming revolutionary. Our assistance to the latter will be the more effective the more we intensify our fight against the reactionary camp of Social Democracy that takes part in a bloc with the bourgeoisie. And within the Left camp the self-determination of its various elements will take place the sooner, the more determinedly the Communists fight for a united front with the Social Democratic Parties. The experience of the class struggle and the participation of the Social Democrats in the united front movement will show who in that camp will prove to be 'Left' in words and who is really Left.

THE UNITED FRONT GOVERNMENT

While the attitude of Social Democracy towards the practical realization of the proletarian united front is, generally speaking, the chief sign in every country of whether

the previous role in the bourgeois state of the Social-Democratic Party or of its individual parts has changed, and if so, to what extent — *the attitude of Social Democracy on the issue of a united front government will be a particularly clear test in this respect.*

When a situation arises in which the question of creating a united front government becomes an immediate practical problem, this issue will become a decisive test of the policy of Social Democracy in the given country: either jointly with the bourgeoisie, that is moving towards fascism, against the working class, or jointly with the revolutionary proletariat against fascism and reaction, not merely in words but in deeds. That is how the question will inevitably present itself at the time the united front government is formed as well as while it is in power.

With regard to the character and conditions for the formation of the united front government, or anti-fascist Popular Front government, I think that my report gave what was necessary for general tactical direction. To expect us over and above this to indicate all possible forms and all conditions under which such governments may be formed would mean to lose oneself in barren conjecture.

I would like to utter a note of warning against oversimplification or the application of cut-and-dried schemes in this question. Life is more complex than any scheme. For example, it would be wrong to imagine that the united front government's *an indispensable stage* on the road to the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. That is just as wrong as the former assertion that there will be *no intermediary stages* in the fascist countries and that fascist dictatorship is *certain* to be *immediately superseded* by proletarian dictatorship.

The whole question boils down to this: Will the proletariat itself be prepared at the decisive moment for the direct overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of its own power, and will it be able in that event to ensure the support of its allies? Or will the movement of the united proletarian front and the anti-fascist Popular Front at the particular stage be in a position only to suppress or overthrow fascism, without directly proceeding to abolish

the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie? In the latter case it would be an intolerable piece of political shortsightedness, and not serious revolutionary politics, on this ground alone to refuse to create and support a united front or a Popular Front government.

It is likewise not difficult to understand that the establishment of a united front government in countries where fascism is not yet in power is something *different* from the creation of such a government in countries where the fascist dictatorship holds sway. In the latter countries a united front government can be created *only in the process of overthrowing fascist rule*. In countries where *the bourgeois democratic revolution is developing*, a Popular Front government may become the government of the democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry.

As I have already pointed out in my report, the Communists will do all in their power to support a united front government to the extent that the latter will really fight against the enemies of the people and grant freedom of action to the Communist Party and to the working class. The question of whether Communists will take part in the government will be determined entirely by the actual situation prevailing at the time. Such questions will be settled as they arise. No ready-made recipes can be prescribed in advance.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

In his speech Comrade Lenski pointed out that while mobilizing the masses to repel the onslaught of fascism against the rights of the working people, the Polish Party at the same time 'had its misgivings about formulating positive democratic demands lest this would create democratic illusions among the masses.' The Polish Party is, of course, not the only one in which such fear of formulating positive democratic demands exists in one form or another.

Where does this fear stem from, Comrades? It comes from an incorrect, non-dialectical conception of our attitude towards bourgeois democracy. We Communists are unswerving upholders of Soviet democracy, the great example of which is the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, where the introduction of equal suffrage and the direct and secret ballot has been proclaimed by resolution of the Seventh Congress of Soviets, at the very time when the last vestiges of bourgeois democracy are being wiped out in the capitalist countries. This Soviet democracy presupposes the victory of the proletarian revolution, the conversion of private ownership of the means of production into public ownership, the adoption of the road to socialism by the overwhelming majority of the people. This democracy does not represent a final form; it develops and will continue to develop, depending on the further achievements of socialist construction, in the creation of a classless society and in the overcoming of the survivals of capitalism in economic life and in the minds of the people.

But today the millions of working people living under capitalism are faced with the necessity of deciding their attitude to *those forms* in which the rule of the bourgeoisie is clad in the various countries. We are not Anarchists, and it is not at all a matter of indifference to us what kind of political regime exists in any given country: whether a bourgeois dictatorship in the form of bourgeois democracy, even with democratic rights and liberties greatly curtailed, or a bourgeois dictatorship in its open, fascist form. While being upholders of Soviet democracy, *we shall defend every inch of the democratic gains which the working class has wrested in the course of years of stubborn struggle, and shall resolutely fight to extend these gains.*

How great were the sacrifices of the British working class before it secured the right to strike, a legal status for its trade unions, the right of assembly and freedom of the press, extension of the franchise, and other rights. How many tens of thousands of workers gave their lives in the revolutionary battles fought in France in the nineteenth century to obtain the elementary rights and the lawful op-

portunity of organizing their forces for the struggle against the exploiters. The proletariat of all countries has shed much of its blood to win bourgeois-democratic liberties and will naturally fight with all its strength to retain them.

Our attitude to bourgeois democracy is not the same under all conditions. For instance, at the time of the October Revolution, the Russian Bolsheviks engaged in a life-and-death struggle against all those political parties which, under the slogan of the defence of bourgeois democracy, opposed the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. The Bolsheviks fought these parties because the banner of bourgeois democracy had at that time become the standard around which all counter-revolutionary forces mobilized to challenge the victory of the proletariat. The situation is quite different in the capitalist countries at present. Now the fascist counter-revolution is attacking bourgeois democracy in an effort to establish the most barbarous regime of exploitation and suppression of the working masses. Now the working masses in a number of capitalist countries are faced with the necessity of making a *definite* choice, and of making it today, not between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy, but between bourgeois democracy and fascism. Besides, we have now a situation which differs from that which existed, for example, in the epoch of capitalist stabilization. At that time the fascist danger was not as acute as it is today. At that time it was bourgeois dictatorship in the form of bourgeois democracy that the revolutionary workers were facing in a number of countries and it was against bourgeois democracy that they were concentrating their fire. In Germany, they fought against the Weimar Republic, not because it was a republic, but because it was a *bourgeois* republic that was engaged in crushing the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, especially in 1918-20 and in 1923.

But could the Communists retain the same position also when the fascist movement began to raise its head, when, for instance, in 1932 the fascists in Germany were organizing and arming hundreds of thousands of storm troopers against the working class? Of course not. It was

the mistake of the Communists in a number of countries, particularly in Germany, that they failed to take account of the changes that had taken place, but continued to repeat the slogans and maintain the tactical positions that had been correct a few years before, especially when the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship was an immediate issue, and when the entire German counter-revolution was rallying under the banner of the Weimar Republic, as it did in 1918-20.

And the circumstance that even today we can still notice in our ranks a fear of launching positive democratic slogans indicates how little our comrades have mastered the Marxist-Leninist method of approaching such important problems of our tactics. Some say that the struggle for democratic rights may divert the workers from the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. It may not be amiss to recall what Lenin said on this question:

It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure or overshadow it, etc. On the contrary, just associationalism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy.*

These words should be firmly fixed in the memories of all our comrades, bearing in mind that in history great revolutions have grown out of small movements for the defence of the elementary rights of the working class. But in order to be able to link up the struggle for democratic rights with the struggle of the working class for socialism, it is necessary first and foremost to discard any cut-and-dried approach to the question of defence of bourgeois democracy.

* V.I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 133.

A CORRECT LINE ALONE IS NOT ENOUGH

Comrades, it is clear, of course, that for the Communist International and each of its Sections the fundamental thing is to work out a correct line. But a correct line alone is not enough for concrete leadership in the class struggle.

For that, a number of conditions must be fulfilled, above all the following:

First, *organizational guarantees* that adopted decisions will be carried out in practice and that all obstacles in the way will be resolutely overcome. What comrade Stalin said at the 12th Congress of the CPSU (b) about the conditions necessary to carry out the Party line, can and must be applied fully to the decisions taken by our Congress.

Comrade Stalin said:

Some people imagine that it is quite sufficient to map out a correct Party line, to proclaim it so as to bring it to everyone's attention, to set it forth in general theses and resolutions and to vote it unanimously, and victory will come by itself, so to say of its own accord. Of course this is quite wrong. This is a big illusion. Only incorrigible bureaucrats are capable of such reasoning... Fine resolutions and declarations in favour of the general policy of the Party are just the beginning, because they only indicate a desire for victory, not victory itself. After the correct policy has been outlined, and the correct solution indicated, success depends on organizational work, on the organization of the struggle to implement the Party line, and the proper selection of workers, on the control over the implementation of the decisions on the part of the leading organs. If these are lacking, the correct Party line and correct decisions stand a great risk of being seriously impaired. What is more, after the correct policy has been hammered out, everything depends on organizational work, including the political line itself – its implementation or its failure.

It is hardly necessary to add anything to these words, which must become a guiding principle in the whole work of our Party.

Another condition is the ability to convert decisions of the Communist International and its Sections into decisions of the widest masses themselves. This is all the more necessary now, when we are faced with the task of organizing a united

front of the proletariat and drawing very wide masses of the people into an anti-fascist Popular Front. The political and tactical genius of *Lenin* stands out most clearly and vividly in his masterly ability to get the masses to understand the correct line and the slogans of the Party through their own experience. If we trace the history of Bolshevism, that greatest of treasure houses of the political strategy and tactics of the revolutionary workers' movement, we shall see that the Bolsheviks never substituted methods of leading the Party for methods of leading the masses.

Comrade Stalin pointed out that one of the particular features of the tactics of the Russian Bolsheviks on the eve of the October Revolution resided in the fact that they were able to find the roads and turns which led the masses to the slogans of the Party, and to the very 'threshold of the revolution' in a natural way, helping them to feel, check and recognize the correctness of these slogans through their own experience; that they did not confuse Party leadership with leadership of the masses, but clearly saw the difference between the former and the latter, thus elaborating tactics not merely as a science of Party leadership, but of the leadership of millions of working people.

Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that *the masses cannot assimilate our decisions unless we learn to speak a language which they understand*. We do not always know how to speak simply, concretely, in images which are familiar and intelligible to the masses. We are still unable to refrain from abstract formulas which we have learnt by rote. As a matter of fact, if you look through our leaflets, newspapers, resolutions and theses, you will find that they are often written in a language and style so heavy that they are difficult for even our Party functionaries to understand, let alone the rank-and-file workers.

If we consider, Comrades, that the workers, especially in fascist countries, who distribute or only read these leaflets risk their very lives by doing so, we shall realize still more clearly the need of writing for the masses in a

language which they understand, so that the sacrifices made shall not have been in vain.

The same applies in no less degree to our oral agitation and propaganda. We must admit quite frankly that in this respect the fascists have often proved more dexterous and flexible than many of our comrades.

I recall, for example, a meeting of unemployed in Berlin before Hitler's accession to power. It was at the time of the trial of those notorious swindlers and profiteers, the Sklarek brothers, which dragged on for several months. A National Socialist speaker in addressing the meeting made demagogic use of that trial to further his own ends. He referred to the swindlers, the bribery and other crimes committed by the Sklarek brothers, emphasized that the trial had been dragging on for months and figured out how many hundreds of thousands of marks it has already cost the German people. To the accompaniment of loud applause the speaker declared that such bandits as the Sklarek brothers should have been shot without any ado and the money wasted on the trial should have gone to the unemployed.

A Communist rose and asked for the floor. The chairman at first refused but under the pressure of the audience, which wanted to hear a Communist, he had to let him speak. When the Communist got up on the platform, everybody awaited with tense expectation what the Communist speaker would have to say. Well, what did he say?

'Comrades,' he began in a loud and ringing voice, 'the Plenum of the Communist International has just closed. It showed the way to the salvation of the working class. The chief task it puts before you, Comrades, is *to win the majority of the working class*... The Plenum pointed out that the unemployed movement must be *politicized*. The Plenum calls on us to raise it to a higher level... The Plenum appeals for this movement to be raised to a higher level.'

He went on in the same strain, evidently under the impression that he was explaining authentic decisions of the Plenum.

Could such a speech appeal to the unemployed? Could they find any satisfaction in the fact that first we intended

to politicize, then revolutionize and finally mobilize them in order to raise their movement to a higher level?

Sitting in a corner of the hall, I observed with chagrin how the unemployed, who had been so eager to hear a Communist in order to find out from him what to do concretely, began to yawn and display unmistakable signs of disappointment. And I was not at all suprised when towards the end the chairman rudely cut our speaker short without any protest from the meeting.

This, unfortunately, is not the only case of its kind in our agitational work. Nor were such cases confined to Germany. To agitate in such fashion means to agitate against one's own cause. It is high time to put an end once and for all to these, to say the least, childish methods of agitation.

During my report, the chairman, Comrade Kuusinen, received a characteristic letter from the floor of the Congress addressed to me. Let me read it:

In your speech at the Congress, please take up the following question, namely, that all resolutions and decisions adopted in the future by the Communist International be written so that not only trained Communists can get the meaning, but that any working man reading the material of the Comintern might without any preliminary training be able to see at once what the Communists want, and of what service communism is to mankind. Some Party leaders forget this. They must be reminded of it, and very strongly, too. Also that agitation for communism be conducted in understandable language.

I do not know exactly who is the author of this letter, but I have no doubt that this comrade voiced in his letter the opinion and desire of millions of workers. Many of our comrades think that the more high-sounding words and the more formulas, often unintelligible to the masses, they use, the better their agitation and propaganda, forgetting that the greatest leader and theoretician of the working class of our epoch, Lenin, has always spoken and written in highly popular language, readily understood by the masses.

Every one of us must make this a law, a Bolshevik law, an elementary rule:

When writing or speaking, always have in mind the

rank-and-file worker who must understand you, must believe in your appeal and be ready to follow you. You must have in mind those for whom you write, to whom you speak.

CADRES

Comrades, our best resolutions will remain scraps of paper if we lack the people who can put them into effect. Unfortunately, however, I must state that the problem of *cadres*, one of the most important questions facing us, has received almost no attention at this Congress.

The report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International was discussed for seven days, there were many speakers from various countries, but only a few, and they only in passing, discussed this question, so extremely vital for the Communist Parties and the labour movement. In their practical work our Parties have not yet realize by far that *people, cadres, decide everything*.

A negligent attitude to the problem of cadres is all the more impermissible as we are constantly losing some of the most valuable of our cadres in the struggle. For we are not a learned society but a militant movement which is constantly in the firing line. Our most energetic, most courageous and most class-conscious elements are in the front ranks. It is precisely these front-line men that the enemy hunts down, murders, throws into jail and concentration camps and subjects to excruciating torture, particularly in fascist countries. This gives rise to the urgent necessity of constantly replenishing the ranks, cultivating and training new cadres as well as carefully preserving the existing cadres.

The problem of cadres is of particular urgency for the additional reason that under our influence the mass united front movement is gaining momentum and bringing forward many thousands of new working-class militants. Moreover, it is not only young revolutionary elements, not only workers just becoming revolutionary, who have never before participated in a political movement, that stream into our ranks. Very often former members and

militants of the Social Democratic Parties also join us. These new cadres require special attention, particularly in the illegal Communist Parties, the more so because in their practical work these cadres with their poor theoretical training frequently come up against very serious political problems which they have to solve for themselves.

The problem of what should be the correct policy with regard to cadres is a very serious one for our Parties, as well as for the Young Communist League and for all other mass organizations – for the entire revolutionary labour movement.

What does a correct policy with regard to cadres imply?

First, *knowing one's people*. As a rule there is no systematic study of cadres in our Parties. Only recently have the Communist Parties of France and Poland and, in the East, the Communist Party of China, achieved certain successes in this direction. The Communist Party of Germany, before its underground period, had also undertaken a study of its cadres. The experience of these Parties has shown that as soon as they began to study their people, Party workers were discovered who had remained unnoticed before. On the other hand, the Parties began to be purged of alien elements who were ideologically and politically harmful. It is sufficient to point to the example of Célor and Barbé in France who, when put under the Bolshevik microscope, turned out to be agents of the class enemy and were thrown out of the Party. In Hungary the verification of cadres made it easier to discover nests of provocateurs, agents of the enemy, who had sedulously concealed their identity.

Second, *proper promotion of cadres*. Promotion should not be something casual but one of the normal functions of the Party. It is bad when promotion is made exclusively on the basis of narrow Party considerations, without regard to whether the Communist promoted has contact with the masses or not. Promotion should take place on the basis of the ability of the various Party workers to discharge particular functions, and of their popularity among the masses. We have examples in our Parties of promotions which have

produced excellent results. For instance, we have a Spanish woman Communist, sitting in the Presidium of this Congress, Comrade Dolores. Two years ago she was still a rank-and-file Party worker. But in the very first clashes with the class enemy she proved to be an excellent agitator and fighter. Subsequently promoted to the leading body of the Party, she has proved herself a most worthy member of that body.

I could point to a number of similar cases in several other countries, but in the majority of cases promotions are made in an unorganized and haphazard manner, and therefore are not always fortunate. Sometimes moralizers, phrasemongers and chatterboxes who actually harm the cause are promoted to leading positions.

Third, *the ability to use people to the best advantage*. We must be able to ascertain and utilize the valuable qualities of every single active member. There are no ideal people; we must take them as they are and correct their weaknesses and shortcomings. We know of glaring examples in our Parties of the wrong utilization of good, honest Communists who might have been very useful had they been given work that they were better fit to do.

Fourth, *proper distribution of cadres*. First of all, we must see to it that the main links of the movement are in the hands of capable people who have contacts with the masses, who have sprung from the grassroots, who have initiative and are staunch. The more important districts should have an appropriate number of such activists. In capitalist countries it is not an easy matter to transfer cadres from one place to another. Such a task encounters a number of obstacles and difficulties, including lack of funds, family considerations, etc., difficulties which must be taken into account and properly overcome. But usually we neglect to do this altogether.

Fifth, *systematic assistance to cadres*. This assistance should consist in detailed instruction, in friendly check-up, in correction of shortcomings and errors, and in concrete day-to-day guidance of cadres.

Sixth, *care for the preservation of cadres*. We must learn promptly to withdraw Party workers to the rear whenever

circumstances so require and replace them by others. We must demand that the Party leadership, particularly in countries where the Parties are illegal, assume paramount responsibility for the preservation of cadres. The proper preservation of cadres also presupposes a highly efficient organization of secrecy in the Party. In some of our Parties many comrades think that the Parties are already prepared for the event of illegality even though they have reorganized themselves only formally, according to ready-made rules. We had to pay very dearly for having started the real work of reorganization only after the Party had gone underground under the direct heavy blows of the enemy. Remember the severe losses the Communist Party of Germany suffered during its transition to underground conditions. Its experience should serve as a serious warning to those of our Parties which today are still legal but may lose their legal status tomorrow.

Only a correct policy in regard to cadres will enable our Parties to develop and utilize all available forces to the utmost, and obtain from the enormous reservoir of the mass movement ever fresh reinforcements of new and better active workers.

What should be our main criterion in selecting cadres?

First, *absolute devotion* to the cause of the working class, *loyalty to the Party*, tested in face of the class enemy – in battle, in prison, in court.

Second, *the closest possible contact with the masses*. The comrades concerned must be wholly absorbed in the interests of the masses, feel the life pulse of the masses, know their sentiments and requirements. The prestige of the leaders of our Party organizations should be based, first of all, on the fact that the masses regard them as their leaders and are convinced through their own experience of their ability as leaders and of their determination and self-sacrifice in struggle.

Third, *ability independently to find one's bearings* in given circumstances and not to be afraid of *assuming responsibility in making decisions*. He who fears to take responsibility is not a leader. He who is unable to display initiative, who says: 'I will do only what I am told,' is not a Bolshevik.

Only he is a real Bolshevik leader who does not lose his head at moments of defeat, who does not get a swelled head at moments of success, who displays indomitable firmness in carrying out decisions. Cadres develop and grow best when they are placed in the position of having to solve concrete problems of the struggle independently, and are aware that they are fully responsible for their decisions.

Fourth, *discipline* and *Bolshevik hardening* in the struggle against the class enemy as well as in their irreconcilable opposition to all deviations from the Bolshevik line.

We must place all the more emphasis on these conditions which determine the correct selection of cadres, because in practice preference is very often given to a comrade who, for example, is able to write well and is a good speaker, but is not a man or woman of action, and is not as suited for the struggle as some other comrade who perhaps may not be able to write or speak so well, but is staunch comrade, possessing initiative and contact with the masses, and is capable of going into battle and leading others into battle. Have there not been many cases of sectarians, doctrinaires or moralizers crowding out loyal mass workers, genuine working class leaders?

Our leading cadres should combine the knowledge of what they must do with *Bolshevik stamina, revolutionary strength of character* and *the power to carry it through*.

In connection with the question of cadres, permit me, comrades, to dwell also on the very great part which the International Labour Defence is called upon to play in relation to the cadres of the labour movement. The material and moral assistance which the ILD organizations render to our prisoners and their families, to political emigrants, to persecuted revolutionaries and anti-fascists, has saved the lives and preserved the strength and fighting capacity of thousands upon thousands of most valuable fighters of the working class in many countries. Those of us who have been in jail have found out directly through our own experience the enormous significance of the activity of the ILD.

By its activity the ILD has won the affection, devotion

and deep gratitude of hundreds of thousands of proletarians and of revolutionary elements among the peasantry and intellectuals.

Under present conditions, when bourgeois reaction is growing, when fascism is raging and the class struggle is becoming more acute, the role of the ILD is increasing immensely. The task now before the ILD is to become a genuine mass organization of the working people in all capitalist countries (particularly in fascist countries, where it must adapt itself to the special conditions prevailing there). It must become, so to speak, a sort of 'Red Cross' of the united front of the proletariat and of the anti-fascist Popular Front, embracing millions of working people – the 'Red Cross' of the army of the toiling classes embattled against fascism, fighting for peace and socialism. If the ILD is to perform its part successfully, it must train thousands of its own active militants, a multitude of its own cadres, ILD cadres, answering in their character and capacity to the special purposes of this extremely important organization.

And here I must say as categorically and as sharply as possible that while a *bureaucratic approach* and a soulless attitude towards people is harmful in the labour movement taken in general, in the sphere of activity of the ILD such an attitude is an evil bordering on the criminal. The fighters of the working class, the victims of reaction and fascism who are suffering agony in torture chambers and concentration camps, political emigrants and their families, should all meet with the most sympathetic care and solicitude on the part of the organizations and functionaries of the ILD. The ILD must still better appreciate and discharge its duty of assisting the fighters in the proletarian and anti-fascist movement, particularly in physically and morally preserving the cadres of the workers' movement. The Communist and revolutionary workers who are active in the ILD organizations must realize at every step the enormous responsibility they have before the working class and the Communist International for the successful fulfilment of the role and tasks of the ILD.

Comrades, as you know, cadres receive their best training in the *process of struggle*, in surmounting difficulties

and withstanding tests, and also from *favourable and unfavourable examples of conduct*. We have hundreds of examples of splendid conduct in times of strikes, during demonstrations, in jail, in court. We have thousands of instances of heroism, but unfortunately also not a few cases of faint-heartedness, lack of firmness and even desertion. We often forget these examples, both good and bad. We do not teach people to benefit by these examples. We do not show them *what* should be emulated and *what* rejected. We must study the conduct of our comrades and militant workers during class conflicts, under police interrogation, in the jails and concentration camps, in court, etc. The good examples should be brought to light and held up as models to be followed, and all that is rotten, non-Bolshevik and philistine should be cast aside. Since the Reichstag Fire Trial we have had quite a few comrades whose statements before bourgeois and fascist courts show that numerous cadres are growing up with an excellent understanding of *what* really constitutes Bolshevik conduct in court.

But how many even of you, delegates to the Congress, know the details of the trial of the railwaymen in Romania, know about the trial of Fiete Schulze, who was subsequently beheaded by the fascists in Germany, the trial of our valiant Japanese comrade Itsikawa, the trial of the Bulgarian revolutionary soldiers, and many other trials at which admirable examples of proletarian heroism were displayed?

Such worthy examples of proletarian heroism must be popularized, must be contrasted with the manifestations of faint-heartedness, philistinism, and every kind of rottenness and frailty in our ranks and the ranks of the working class. These examples must be used most extensively in educating the cadres of the workers' movement.

Comrades, our Party leaders often complain that there are no *people*, that they are short of people for agitational and propaganda work, for the newspapers, the trade unions, for work among the youth, among women. Not enough, not enough – that is the cry. We simply haven't got the people. To this we could reply in the old yet eternally new words of Lenin:

There are no people — yet there are enormous numbers of people. There are enormous numbers of people, because the working class and ever more diverse strata of society, year after year, throw up from their ranks an increasing number of discontented people who desire to protest... At the same time we have no people, because we have... no talented organizers capable of organizing extensive and at the same time uniform and harmonious work that would give employment to all forces, even the most inconsiderable.*

These words of Lenin must be thoroughly grasped by our Parties and applied by them as a guide in their everyday work. There are plenty of people. They need only to be discovered in our own organizations, during strikes and demonstrations, in various mass organizations of the workers, in united front bodies. They must be helped to grow in the course of their work and struggle, they must be put in a situation where they can really be useful to the workers cause.

Comrades, we Communists are people of action. Ours is the problem of practical struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the threat of imperialist war, the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. It is precisely this *practical* task that obliges Communist cadres to equip themselves with *revolutionary theory*, for theory gives those engaged in practical work the power of orientation, clarity of vision, assurance in work, belief in the triumph of our cause.

But real revolutionary theory is irreconcilably hostile to all emasculated theorizing, all barren play with abstract definitions. *Our theory is not a dogma, but a guide to action*; Lenin used to say. It is *such a theory* that our cadres need, and they need it as badly as they need their daily bread, as they need air or water.

Whoever really wishes to rid our work of deadening, cut-and-dried schemes, of pernicious scholasticism, must burn them out with a red-hot iron, both by *practical*, active struggle waged together with and at the head of the masses, and by *untiring effort* to master the mighty, fertile, all-powerful teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin.

In this connection I consider it particularly necessary to

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, pp. 436-437

draw your attention to the work of our *Party schools*. It is not pedants, moralizers or adepts at quoting that our schools must train. No. It is practical front-rank fighters in the cause of the working class that should graduate from there, people who are front-rank fighters not only because of their boldness and readiness for self-sacrifice, but also because they see further than rank-and-file workers and know better than they the path that leads to the emancipation of the working people. All sections of the Communist International must without any dilly-dallying seriously take up the question of the proper organization of Party schools, in order to turn them into *smithies* where these fighting cadres are forged.

The principal task of our Party schools, it seems to me, is to teach the Party and Young Communist League members there how to apply the Marxist-Leninist method to the concrete situation in particular countries, to definite conditions, not the struggle against an enemy 'in general,' but against a particular, definite enemy. This makes necessary a study of not merely the letter of Leninism, but its living revolutionary spirit.

There are two ways of training cadres in our Party schools:

First method: teaching people abstract theory, trying to give them the greatest possible dose of dry learning, coaching them how to write theses and resolutions in a literary style, and only incidentally touching upon the problems of the particular country, of the particular labour movement, its history and traditions, and the experience of the Communist Party in question.

Second method: theoretical training in which mastering the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism is based on practical study by the student of the key problems of the struggle of the proletariat in his own country. On returning to his practical work, the student will then be able to find his bearings by himself, and become an independent practical organizer and leader capable of leading the masses in battle against the class enemy.

Not all graduates of our Party schools prove to be suitable. There are many phrases, abstractions, a good

deal of book knowledge and show of learning. But we need real truly Bolshevik organizers and leaders of the masses. And we need them badly this very day. It does not matter if such students cannot write good theses (though we need that very much, too), but they must know how to organize and lead, undaunted by difficulties, capable of surmounting them.

Revolutionary theory is the generalized, *summarized experience* of the revolutionary movement. Communists must carefully utilize in their countries not only the experience of the past but also the experience of the present struggle of other detachments of the international workers' movement. However, correct utilization of experience does not by any means denote *mechanical transposition* of ready-made forms and methods of struggle from one set of conditions to another, from one country to another, as so often happens in our Parties. Bare imitation, simple copying of methods and forms of work, even of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in countries where capitalism is still supreme, may with the best of intentions result in harm rather than good, as has so often actually been the case. It is precisely from the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks that we must learn to apply effectually, to the specific conditions of life in each country, *the single international line*; in the struggle against capitalism we must learn pitilessly to cast aside, pillory and hold up to general ridicule all *phrase-mongering, use of hackneyed formulas, pedantry and dogmatism*.

It is necessary to learn, Comrades, to learn always, at every step, in the course of the struggle, at liberty and in jail. To learn and to fight, to fight and to learn.

*

Comrades, never has any international congress of Communists aroused such keen interest on the part of world public opinion as we witness now in regard to our present Congress. It may be said without fear of exaggeration that there is not a single serious newspaper, not a single political party, not a single more or less serious newspaper, not a single political party, not a more or less

serious political or social leader that is not following the course of our Congress with the closest attention.

The eyes of millions of workers, peasants, small townspeople, office workers and intellectuals, of colonial peoples and oppressed nationalities are turned towards Moscow, the great capital of the *first but not the last* state of the international proletariat. In this we see a confirmation of the enormous importance and urgency of the questions discussed at the Congress and of its decisions.

The frenzied howling of the fascists of all countries, particularly of rabid German fascism, only confirms us in the belief that our decisions have indeed hit the mark.

In the dark night of bourgeois reaction and fascism in which the class enemy is endeavouring to keep the working masses of the capitalist countries, the Communist International, the international Party of the Bolsheviks, stands out like a beacon, showing all mankind the one way to emancipation from the yoke capitalism, from fascist barbarity and the horrors of imperialist war.

The establishment of unity of action of the working class is *the decisive* stage on that road. Yes, unity of action by the organizations of the working class of every trend, the consolidation of its forces in all spheres of its activity and in all sectors of the class struggle.

The working class must achieve *the unity of its trade unions*. In vain do some reformist trade union leaders attempt to frighten the workers with the spectre of a trade union democracy destroyed by the interference of the Communist Parties in the affairs of the united trade unions, by the existence of Communist factions within the trade unions. To depict us Communists as opponents of trade union democracy is sheer nonsense. We advocate and consistently uphold the right of the trade unions to decide their problems for themselves. We are even prepared to forego the creation of Communist factions in the trade unions if that is necessary in the interests of trade union unity. We are prepared to come to an agreement on the independence of the united trade unions from all political parties. But we are decidedly opposed to any *dependence* of the trade unions on the bourgeoisie, and do not give up our

basic point of view that it is impermissible for trade unions to adopt a neutral position in regard to the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The working class must strive to secure *the union* of all forces of the working class youth and of all organizations of the anti-fascist youth, and win over that section of the working youth which has come under the demoralizing influence of fascism and other enemies of the people.

The working class must and will achieve unity of action in all fields of the labour movement. This will come about the sooner, the more firmly and resolutely we Communists and revolutionary workers of all capitalist countries apply in practice the new tactical line adopted by our Congress in relation to the most important urgent questions of the international workers' movement.

We know that there are many difficulties ahead. Our path is not a smooth asphalt road, our path is not strewn with roses. The working class will have to overcome many an obstacle, including obstacles in its own midst; it faces the task above all of reducing to naught the disruptive machinations of the reactionary elements of Social Democracy. Many are the sacrifices that will be exacted under the hammer blows of bourgeois reaction and fascism. The revolutionary ship of the proletariat will have to steer its course through a multitude of submerged rocks before it reaches its port.

But the working class in the capitalist countries is today no longer what it was in 1914, at the beginning of the imperialist war, nor what it was in 1918, at the end of the war. The working class has behind it twenty years of rich experience and revolutionary trials, bitter lessons of a number of defeats, especially in Germany, Austria and Spain.

The working class has before it the inspiring example of the Soviet Union, the land of victorious socialism, an example of how the class enemy can be defeated, how the working class can establish its own government and build a socialist society.

The bourgeoisie no longer holds *undivided* dominion over the whole expanse of the world. Now *the victorious*

working class rules over one sixth of the globe. Soviets rule over a vast part of the great China.

The working class possesses a firm, well-knit revolutionary vanguard, the Communist International.

The whole course of historical development, Comrades, favours the cause of the working class. In vain are the efforts of the reactionaries, the fascists of every hue, the entire world bourgeoisie, to turn back the wheel of history. No, that wheel is turning forward and will continue to turn forward towards a worldwide Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, until the final victory of socialism throughout the world.

There is but one thing that the working class of the capitalist countries still lacks – unity in its own ranks.

So let the battle cry of the Communist International, the clarion call of Marx, Engels and Lenin ring out all the more loudly from this platform to the whole world.

Workers of all countries, unite...

Prolonged and stormy applause. Ovarions and cheers. Shouts of 'Rot Front!' 'Banswei!' All sing the International.

Shouts in different languages: 'Long Live Comrade Dimitrov!'

The delegations of different countries sing militant songs.

During a momentary lull in the ovations, Comrade Manuïlsky exclaims: 'Long live the helmsman of the Comintern, Comrade Dimitrov!'

The loud and stormy applause, ovations and cheers continue for 15 to 20 minutes.

*Georgi Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 10, pp. 132-176
Published by the BCP, 1954*

LET US UNITE ALL THE FORCES OF THE ANTI-FASCIST YOUTH

Speech delivered at the opening of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Youth International on September 25, 1935.

Comrades,

I convey to you the ardent militant greetings of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

No dangers along your long and difficult journey, no fascist and police cordons were able to prevent you from gathering in the red proletarian capital to discuss the tasks of uniting the forces of the young generation of working people in the international fraternal and friendly family.

You are a Congress of revolutionary youth, of strength and energy. How many of the best and most exemplary fighters for the cause of working youth have gathered at your Congress.

With pride and affection, on behalf of the older revolutionary generation I greet in your person the glorious young guard of working classes of all countries in the world!

Comrades, one month ago, in this hall in which you have now gathered, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International completed its work.

Guided by the teaching of genius of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the Congress of the Comintern thoroughly discussed all the main problems of the International Workers' Movement, and mapped out the road for overcoming its division, and uniting the forces of the working people in the struggle against the exploiters and oppressors, against fascism and war. The Congress of the Communist International paid special attention to the movement of youth,

as one of the most important problems of the international revolutionary movement, fully realizing that the victory of the working people depends upon the correct and successful development of the youth movement, and its mass scope.

In bestially destroying the best fighters of revolutionary youth, fascism is simultaneously trying in every way to adapt its rotten demagogy to the moods of the wide mass of youth, and to take advantage of the growing militant activity of the young people for its own reactionary aims, in order to turn them into the support of moribund capitalism.

Depriving the young generation of working people of all rights, fascist power is fully militarizing the entire youth, and trying to train them into becoming obedient slaves of financial capital, both for a civil and an imperialist war.

What can we oppose to fascism and the danger of imperialist war, which has become particularly acute in connection with the attack which Italian fascism is preparing against Abyssinia, and with the growing aggressiveness of German fascism?

We can and we must oppose to them the union of all anti-fascist forces, and first and foremost the union of the forces of the young generation of working people, raising a thousand times higher the role and activity of the young people in the struggle of the working class for its interest, for its cause.

Let all the activity of the Congress of the Communist Youth International be devoted to the realization of this, the most urgent, the fundamental aim.

We expect that on the basis of the experience you already have, and also basing yourselves upon the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, you will succeed in finding the correct roads for the solution of the most important tasks of your movement, a task connected with uniting the forces of the entire non-fascist youth, and of those of working class youth in the first place, the task of achieving unity with socialist youth.

But you will be unable to do this if the Young Com-

munist Leagues try, as in the past, to organize their ranks as Communist Youth *Parties*, if, as they did before, they confine themselves to a sectarian life, isolated from the masses.

The whole of the anti-fascist youth is interested in uniting and organizing their forces. That is why, Comrades, you must find such ways, such forms and methods of work as will ensure the creation of a *new type* of mass youth organizations in the capitalist countries to which the vital interests of the working youth will not be alien: the creation of organizations which, without copying the Party, will fight for *all* the interests of youth, and educate it in the spirit of the class struggle, of proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

This demands of the Congress the most serious *check-up* and *re-appraisal* of the work of the Young Communist Leagues so that they might be reconstructed *in actual fact*, and that all that hinders the development of mass work and the creation of a united front and the unity of youth might be fearlessly removed.

We expect that the Communist Youth International will construct its entire activity in such a way, as to rally and unite all the professional, cultural, educational and sports organizations of working youth, all the revolutionary and anti-fascist youth organizations for the struggle against fascism and war, for the rights of the young generation.

We note with great joy that our young comrades in France and the United States of America have actively joined the successfully developing mass movement of the united front of youth, and have already achieved very promising successes in this field. All the sections of the Communist Youth International should learn from this experience of the French and American comrades.

In many countries the communist and the socialist youth are already drawing ever closer to each other, a striking example of which is the presence at the present Congress of the Communist Youth International of representatives not only of the communist but of the socialist youth of Spain as well.

And thus, Comrades, advance fearlessly along the

road of unity with socialist youth, and create together with it common and united organizations. Advance fearlessly along the road of unity with all the forces of anti-fascist youth.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International will with all its forces encourage and support your initiative and activity in the struggle for unity, in the struggle for the vital interests of working youth.

The millions of young men and women for whom capitalist society has created impossible conditions of existence, who are either outside any kind of organization or in such organizations as are guided by the class enemy, are your brothers and sisters, whom you can and *must* draw to the side of socialism by persistent work.

Do not wait for unity to set in between the Communist and the Social Democratic Parties and the other organizations of the working class.

Be fearless and independent and take the initiative!

You are a Congress of the most active the most self-sacrificing part of the present young generation. You cannot stand aside from the movement in favour of unity, which is growing ever stronger in the ranks of the working class. You must not wait like the Socialist Youth International for permission 'from above' in order to support the movement for a united front and the merging of working youth in one organization.

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International I declare that the youth who are united in the ranks of the Communist Youth International have and will have full opportunities of *independently* developing their own revolutionary movements and solving the problems of this movement.

The communists in the ranks of the youth organizations should know how to work in such a way as to influence the decisions of the organization by convincing members, and not by commanding them on behalf of the Party.

I shall recall the words of the great Lenin, on which the relations of the Communist International to youth and its organization are founded:

It frequently occurs that representatives of the generation of the elderly and the old *do not know* how to behave as they should towards youth, who are of necessity forced to approach socialism in *another way*, not along the same road, not in the same form, not under the same conditions as their fathers. That is why, among other things, we are bound unconditionally to stand for the *organizational independence* of the youth union, and *not only* because the opportunists fear this independence, but also because of the very essence of the work, because without full independence youth *will be unable* either to produce good specialists from among themselves or to get ready to lead socialism forward.

Comrades, we must learn, we must learn by fighting!

Link all your daily practical activity with a thorough study of the primary sources of Marxism-Leninism, because without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice.

Be exemplary, firm and fearless fighters against fascism, against capitalism.

Hold aloft the banner of the liberation of mankind from capitalist bondage, the banner of the Communist International!

Rally the young generation of working people the world over around that banner! This banner of the greatest victories is already unfurled over one sixth of the globe, and it will triumph all over the world. (All rise. Stormy applause. Shouts: 'Long live the helmsman of the Communist International, Comrade Dimitrov!' 'Long live the Communist International!' Cheers. The audience sing Bandera Rossa and the International).

*Georgi Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 10 pp. 196-202.
Published by the BCP, 1954*

THE 'LEGAL SYSTEM' OF GERMAN FASCISM

Reply to Mr. Ribbentrop

*Interview given to the press representatives
on January 8, 1936*

In its issue of December 18, 1935, the fascist newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* published a letter by Hitler's 'special plenipotentiary' on foreign affairs, von Ribbentrop, to the British politician Lord Allen of Hartwood, in reply to the demand of British jurists addressed through the latter personally to Hitler, for the release of the German lawyer Hans Litten.

In this letter Ribbentrop raises a number of theses: 1) that the present German regime represents a peculiar legal system, corresponding to the 'spirit' and 'natural sentiments' of the German people; 2) that the advent to power of the German fascists on January 30, 1933, was a 'revolution'; 3) that the historic mission of German fascism was to save human civilization, and finally 4) that he, Ribbentrop, has been instrumental in the release of Dimitrov, something which he now bitterly regretted.

Ribbentrop expresses his regret in connection with the 'magnanimity' displayed by the German Government in releasing Dimitrov at that time.

Basing himself on Comrade Dimitrov's report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, which he distorts in a disgusting manner, Ribbentrop writes: 'This carefully elaborated programme is the result of Dimitrov's release, i.e. the result of the liberal British outlook and of German kindness and magnanimity!'

Below we publish the replies of Comrade Dimitrov to questions put to him by the representatives of the press.

Question: What is your opinion about the letter of Hitler's diplomat Ribbentrop to the British Lord Allen, published in the official organ of the German Government *Völkischer Beobachter* on December 18 in reply to the demand of British jurists for the release of the German lawyer Litten.

Dimitrov: Mr. Ribbentrop is not speaking personally on his own behalf. Ribbentrop's personal opinions are of little importance. Ribbentrop's letter is an official statement of the German Government, trying to justify the monstrous crimes which roused a wave of protest throughout the civilized world. It is unbridled German fascism which is speaking through Ribbentrop's mouth in its attempt to win the support of public opinion in Great Britain for its handling of the political opponents of fascism as well as for its reckless military plans. It is no accident that this letter has been published at a moment when all honest people in the world are gripped with indignation at the base execution of the German communist Klaus, and when, confronted with the disaster of starvation into which fascism has plunged the masses in Germany, the German fascists are singularly intensifying their terror over the whole country. Openly proclaiming his defence of the butchers who are swinging the axe, their accomplice with the white-gloved hands of a diplomat, in his letter actually launches an attack on world public opinion.

Question: What do you think of Ribbentrop's assertion that the present German regime represents a 'peculiar legal' system, corresponding to the 'spirit' and 'natural sentiments' of the German people?

Dimitrov: Ribbentrop's assertion is most insulting to the great German people. Indeed how cynical must a man be and with what Nietzschean contempt must he treat the people to whom Ribbentrop's letter is directly addressed, to make such an assertion! Fascism and legal system are two quite incompatible things. Fascism is the negation of any legal order. Fascism is actually arbitrary rule. It is the arbitrariness of an armed gang of hirelings of big business who have enslaved the bulk of the people in the interest not only of the exploiter minority in general, but above all in the interest of the most rapacious exploiters.

What is that legal system which supposedly corresponds to the 'spirit' and 'natural sentiments' of the German people and which has deprived nine-tenths of the people of the most elementary political rights? What is that legal system which destroys the flower of the German peo-

ple in prisons and concentration camps? What is that legal system under which quite innocent men, such as Litten, are kept in prison merely because, in Ribbentrop's own words, their 'spiritual viewpoint' happens to differ from that of Ribbentrop? Ribbentrop justifies the necessity of repealing the old legal system in Germany on the basis that, in his own words, 'Adolf Hitler, too, like any other common mortal, could be tried under the same paragraphs of the Penal Law.' But a system under which no fascist murderer is liable to any court action and falls under any paragraphs for his crimes – that is precisely a system of arbitrary rule. It is a regime headed by criminals.

It is no exaggeration to say that Ribbentrop's 'peculiar legal system' is closer to the 'system' of the American gangsters who terrorize the population of the United States than to any other existing legal system. Under what legal system, for instance, can the provocative setting on fire of the Reichstag by the German fascists be brought? Let the unified German Law Academy, whose materials Mr. Ribbentrop admonishingly promises to forward to Lord Allen, try to adduce legal arguments in justification of this provocative act, which served, according to the plan of its instigators, as a pretext for a whole series of St. Bartholomew's nights. There is no 'legal system' that would enable the Ribbentrops to justify such an action as the arrest of quite innocent persons and their trial on the charge of having set the Reichstag on fire, when the whole world knows that the Reichstag was set on fire at the order and instructions of the fascist rulers.

Let the German Law Academy try to legally justify the murders from ambush or the numerous cases of murder during so-called 'attempt at escape' so frequently practised by the fascists, or the death sentences against anti-fascists based on false documents and witnesses. Let it try to justify the system of tortures and inquisitions to which the fascist butchers subject imprisoned Communists, Social Democrats and other anti-fascists. Let Mr. Ribbentrop explain by what norms of the legal system such acts can be covered as the assassination of the German professor Lessing by a fascist on Czechoslovak soil, the bloody

massacre on June 30, the murder of General Schleicher and his wife, the execution of scores of storm-troopers? And how about the anti-Semitic pogroms and the persecutions of Catholics, recalling the worst pages from the times of the inquisition and of the Huguenots. And how about sterilization? Under what legal system are such disgusting actions admissible? And how about the orgy of the public burning of the immortal works of human thought and human genius?

Yes, this 'peculiar legal system' has its precedents in history in the Dark Middle Ages. To this day the hearts of those who study the history of tortures, the stakes, the autodafés, the burning of Giordano Bruno and the ghastly 'diba'*, on which the unfortunate wretches were put at the time of Ivan Grozni, are filled with horror. At that time, too, there were butchers with axes at the place of execution, who chooped off heads, and there were also Ribbentrops to extol that 'peculiar legal system'. It is well known, however, that the people smashed this system to smithereens and that they mercilessly eliminated the representatives of that system. The spiritual degeneration of bourgeois society had to set in and the rottenneess of decaying capitalism had to become manifest to resurrect this system and to put to shame the nation which gave to the world Marx and Engels, Goethe and Schiller, Wagner and Heine. The judgment of history will be no less lenient towards those who raised the gallows and the axe as symbols of modern mediaevalism at a time when one sixth of the globe is illumined by the five-pointed star with the emblem of the hammer and sickle.

Question: What do you think of Ribbentrop's statement that 'revolutions are not judged by judicial organs and according to ordinary legal norms?'

Dimitrov: It is quite true that revolutions are not judged in the court rooms or according to ordinary legal norms. But Mr. Ribbentrop, believing to have found herein the key to justifying the crimes of German fascism, has forgotten a 'minor detail'. As a matter of fact, the coming to

* diba - a chair on which prisoners were tortured

power of the German fascists of January 30, 1933, was no revolution at all. It is a well-known fact that every genuine revolution means the passing over of power from one class to another. In Germany the bourgeoisie was and remains in power. The capitalist system remains unaffected. What has changed is that the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialistic circles of finance capital, who intensified capitalist exploitation and oppression to the utmost, have become absolute rulers. Political forgery will not avail Ribbentrop. He thinks that he can justify fascist terror merely by labelling the fascist reactionary frenzy a 'national socialist revolution'. The fascist diplomat has not the slightest idea that genuine revolutions, no matter how harsh they may be, require no justification, because they elevate the people who carry them out and hence mankind as a whole to a higher stage of human civilization. The bloody fascist bacchanalia can have no justification, because it reduces the great German people to barbarity.

The fascist legend about a national socialist revolution has been so far primarily for home consumption, for the purpose of deceiving the masses and covering up the shortage of fats, meat and eggs. Now Ribbentrop, the nazi travelling agent, is trying to dump these rotten wares on the European market. He quite seriously recommends the fascist frenzy as a 'model revolution' for all people.

One cannot help smiling when reading such assertions of Ribbentrop as that the notorious methods of the national socialist revolution 'had nothing like them in history' and were 'in glaring contradiction with the cruel and barbarous methods' by means of which revolutions had been carried out in other nations of the civilized world and that they served the cause of 'preserving the ethical and moral foundations of the nation'. All this is such a spate of shameless lies that it does not even call for a reply. It is indeed a fascist 'sample' of boundless insolence.

Question: What is your reaction to Ribbentrop's statement that the historical mission of German fascism was to save civilization?

Dimitrov: The same as it would be to a declaration of the American gangsters if they were to assume upon

themselves the mission to save humanity from banditism. As is well known, the German fascists strike their blows at every thing bearing the seal of human progress, of free thought, of independent creative initiative, against all who are not fascists. Nor can it be otherwise, for fascism is the most ruthless enemy of human progress and civilization, it is the incarnation of the most savage and unbridled obscurantism. It directs its blows primarily at the labour movement and, in particular, at communism, because communism constitutes the vanguard of the world labour movement, and because it is the bearer of a new civilization.

This role of communism is brought into particular relief in the light of the great achievements of socialist construction in the USSR. Millions of men in the capitalist world – workers, peasants and intellectuals, scientists, engineers and technicians – are increasingly realizing that socialism in the USSR means a mighty increase in the forces of production, a steady rise in the living standards of the broad masses, an unprecedented flowering of their culture, an all-round development of man's personality, the birth of a new man, of a new way of life and of a new psychology. Socialism means peace and fraternity among nations. And it is precisely for this reason that all honest, independent and free men on earth, despite all difficulties, are rallying with the working class in a united front against fascism, that plague of modern mankind.

Question: What do you have to say about Ribbentrop's assertion that he was instrumental in bringing about your release?

Dimitrov: In making this statement, Ribbentrop, to put it mildly, is exaggerating his personal role in history. As you all know, I was freed because even a fascist court could not help acquitting me. And it acquitted me because at the Reichstag Fire Trial it was proved beyond doubt that the Reichstag was set on fire not by the German communists, but by the German fascists. We were released, because the wave of indignation against German fascism rose so high throughout the world, and fascism was so discredited and

put to shame at Leipzig, that it had no other alternative but to set us free. But what does Mr. Ribbentrop have in common with all this? If the Ribbentrops have been able to tear me to pieces in Leipzig, they would have done so with the greatest of pleasure, but they were powerless. The bandit who releases his victim, because those who have come to the victim's aid are twisting his arms, can least boast of his magnanimity.

Ribbentrop tries to present the programme of the united front in the struggle against the offensive of capital, fascism and war, which was developed at the Seventh Congress openly before the whole world, as a universal terrorist conspiracy not only against fascist Germany, but also against all of Europe and more particularly against the British Empire. It seems that this terrible calamity was made possible by 'the English liberal world outlook and German kindness and magnanimity', which, as Ribbentrop assures us, led to my release. All this false rigmarole is necessary to Ribbentrop to persuade British public opinion not to repeat such 'errors' as was my release; he needs it to give a free hand to German fascism to deal with Thaelmann and the other prisoners in the German prisons.

He consciously distorts the decisions of the Seventh Congress so as to divert attention from the real conspirators and terrorists, who are trying to plunge the world into the holocaust of a new imperialist war. The shorthand record of my report has been published, workers in all countries have read it, and the British lords can now read it, too. In my report, in accordance with the programme and tactics of the Communist International, far from advocating individual terror, I fought, with all the passion of a fighter for communism, against those who turn political individual terror into a major means of achieving their anti-popular goals. And I have, above all, the German fascists in mind.

There is no doubt that the life of Thaelmann and scores of thousands of Communists, Social Democrats and other anti-fascists, thrown into German prisons and concentration camps, is exposed more than at any other time to

serious danger. Fresh crimes of fascism are on the agenda. The hand of the fascist butchers has to be removed. The millions of workers and all honest people now have their say.

*G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 10, pp. 214-223
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UNITED FRONT OF THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

I

Never since 1914 has the menace of a world war been so great as it is now. And never has it been so necessary to mobilize all forces to avert this calamity which threatens all mankind. But to do this, one must first of all realize from where the danger is arising, who is responsible for it, and against which countries the attack is being directed.

It would not be correct to think that the war which is approaching threatens the Soviet Union alone or even the Soviet Union in the first place. As a matter of fact, the occupation of the Rhineland by Hitler's armies is a direct threat to France, Belgium and other European countries. It is also a fact that Hitler's immediate plans of conquest are directed toward the seizure of territories in neighbouring countries where there is a German population.

Whereas today Hitler talks about the 'sovereignty of Germany', tomorrow he will talk about the 'sovereignty of all the Germans.' Under this slogan he will try to carry out the annexation of Austria, the destruction of Czechoslovakia as an independent state, the occupation of Alsace-Lorraine, Danzig, the southern part of Denmark, Memel, etc. And this is quite easy to understand. It is much easier for German fascism to send an army first of all to seize the territory of neighbouring countries, under the slogan of the 'national unity of all the Germans,' and only later to fight against the powerful land of the Soviets. German fascism, in strengthening its positions on the Rhine, also threatens the independence of the Polish people, in spite of the fact that the present rulers of Poland are its allies.

As far as the Far East is concerned, there can be no doubt that a *direct* blow is aimed at the Chinese people, although the fascist military clique of Japan is preparing for war against the Soviet Union and has an agreement with Berlin for this eventuality. Japan has already occupied Manchuria and is now occupying one province of China after another. Japanese imperialism is striving by this means to subject all the peoples of Asia, including India, and to seize the Philippines and Australia. It is preparing for a decisive encounter with the United States and Great Britain.

Hence it is clear that the peoples of the West would commit a fatal error if they allowed themselves to be lulled by the illusion that the fascist warmongers in Europe and the Far East do not threaten them. In particular, the people of the countries neighbouring on Germany have food for serious thought regarding the defence of their independence and liberty.

As is well known, the fundamental cause of imperialist wars lies in capitalism itself, in its predatory efforts. But in the existing international situation, the instigator of the approaching war is *fascism*, this mailed first of the most aggressive and warlike forces of imperialism.

The war danger has become so immediately threatening because the road to power was not barred to German fascism at the proper moment. Having obtained power by means of an internal war against the mass of the people of its own country, fascism has grown into a direct war menace to the countries of the whole world. Having enslaved its own people, it is advancing with the torch of war in its hand to attack other peoples.

The war danger has become extremely menacing for the further reason that the fascist aggressor has been allowed to enjoy a position of impunity. The war preparations of German fascism (the introduction of universal military service, the air and naval armaments) were carried out with the systematic connivance of the capitalist states and the direct assistance of the British ruling circles. The passivity and wavering of the League of Nations in regard to Japanese attack on China and the

Italian aggression in Ethiopia encouraged the impudence of the aggressor.

But the growing aggressiveness of German fascism and of the Japanese military clique is first and foremost the result of the fact that *the international proletariat did not succeed in acting unanimously with all the power of its gigantic forces, did not rally around itself all the working people and all the friends of peace into a mighty front against war*. The resistance of the reactionary section of the leaders of the Socialist International and the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions to the united front of struggle has not yet been broken. Yet is it the refusal of these reactionary leaders (supporting the imperialist policy of their own bourgeoisie) to undertake united independent proletarian action against war, lulling the masses to sleep with the illusion that the League of Nations would do everything necessary for the maintenance of peace, which has hindered the struggle of the proletariat against war and paralyzed its pressure on the capitalist governments.

In addition to the openly reactionary leaders who disrupt the unity of action of the international proletariat in defence of peace, there are also 'left' phrasemongers who propagate fatalistic views to the effect that war is *inevitable* and the maintenance of peace *impossible*. Since the fundamental cause of war is capitalism, then, they say, so long as the latter exists, it is impossible to avoid war and it is hopeless and useless to fight for the preservation of peace. Such people are out-and-out doctrinaires, if not simply impostors. They see everywhere around them the raging forces of war, but they do not at all notice the mighty factors making for peace.

The Soviet Union, the country of the victorious proletariat, with its consistent and resolute peace policy, is such a factor for peace. Another factor for peace is the proletariat of the capitalist countries. These are the leading forces in defending peace against the warmongers. The mass of the peasants, all working people, and the mass of the people in all capitalist countries, are also for the preservation of peace. A number of capitalist countries at present are interested in the preservation of peace. In the countries

where fascism rules, as well as in the countries where the rulers abet the instigators of a new slaughter, the peoples do not want war.

Phrasemongering doctrinaires, such as those from the British Independent Labour Party, depict matters as if the question of war and peace depended only on the capitalist governments. Yes, this would be the case if the mass of the people were simply pawns in the hands of the governments and *did not fight* to maintain peace in spite of their governments. But this is just the point; it is radically wrong to regard the mass of the people as puppets in the hands of the government. If these masses, without whom war could not be carried on, were to act *resolutely and promptly* against the war plans of the governments, they could force them to desist from war and from abetting the war plotters. *All that is required is to organize the struggle of the peoples for the preservation of peace in good time and to wage it every day and everywhere against the fascist warmongers and their backers.*

A united peace front is required which would include not only the working class, the peasants, the intellectuals and other working people, but also the oppressed nations and the peoples of countries whose independence is threatened by the warmongers. A peace front is required extending to all parts of the world, from Tokyo to London, from New York to Berlin, acting in coordination against the warmongers, against German fascism in Europe, against the Japanese military clique in the Far East. And this peace front will become powerful and invincible if it organizes practical mass actions, not confining itself to protests, resolutions and declarations.

Economic and political measures are necessary, which will put the warmongers in a *state of siege*. They should be cornered in such a way as to be incapable of carrying out their criminal plans. The globe should be encircled with such a network of organizations of the friends of peace, such a mighty movement of international solidarity and such effective measures of a united international policy of the proletariat for the preservation of peace, as will effectively shackle the dastardly hands of the warmongers.

The fascist aggressor must be made to feel most emphatically that his every step is vigilantly watched by millions of people and that any attempt to attack other peoples will meet with the determined resistance of the proletariat and the working people all over the world.

None other but the proletariat, closing its ranks, can organize such a peace front, can be its driving force, its backbone. This is now *the central task* of the international proletariat as a whole. The success of the fight against fascism depends on its successful solution.

II

It is not enough to *want* peace. It is necessary to *fight* for peace. General propaganda against war will not do at all. Propaganda against war 'in general' does not in the slightest degree hinder the conspirators sitting in Berlin or Tokyo from carrying out their dastardly work. They would be quite satisfied if the working class were to go no further than such general propaganda.

A successful struggle to maintain peace absolutely requires that the joint activity of the proletariat and the widest masses of the people be directed against *the specific instigators of war* and against those forces inside the country which help them directly or indirectly. From this point of view it is extremely important in every country to work out a definite and correct tactical line in the struggle for the preservation of peace, taking into account the situation of the Party and the working class movement of the given nation and also its internal and international situation.

In the countries where fascism is in power, the working class, putting in the forefront of its struggle against the fascist dictatorship exposure of chauvinist demagoguery and war preparations, must rally all its forces to overt the disaster into which fascism is preparing to plunge the people. When the proletariat and the masses of the people of Germany, Italy and other fascist countries fight against the rule of fascism and its military aggression, they are acting

not only for their own salvation, but in the interests of peace, in the interests of all peoples, of all mankind.

A particularly important question in the tactics of the working class, especially in the countries which are directly in danger of an attack, is today the attitude which should be adopted toward the foreign policy of the government and the defence of the country. It is by no means a matter of indifference to the working class and all the working people what foreign policy the government pursues towards the fascist enemies of peace; whether this policy helps to strengthen collective security or to hinder it; whether the government protects the agents of the fascist aggressor or takes effective steps against them; how it treats the sons of the people in the ranks of the army, in what spirit they are trained, what elements the officers of the army are composed of, whether these are reliable in the fight against the fascist enemy or population is to be protected against the horrors of war, etc.

To adopt an attitude of indifference to the question of the defence of the nation, to leave this question without control in the hands of a bourgeois government, will certainly not help the cause of the defence of peace. It is no accident that the ruling section of the bourgeoisie has always looked upon this sphere as its monopoly, regarding it as a kind of 'holy of holies.' This monopoly of the bourgeoisie must be demolished once and for all.

The proletariat cannot get along without a policy of its own on these questions. Without on any condition permitting itself to slip into adopting the position of the bourgeoisie, the Party of the proletariat must actively interfere in foreign policy and in questions of national defence, advancing its own platform and its own demands.

As the supreme supporter of the active defence of its own people and country from fascist enslavement, the working class must closely link up the question of the defence of the country with the demands for the extension of the democratic rights of the workers and peasants and the defence of their vital interests, taking as its starting point the fact that only the democratization of the regime, the democratization of the army, its cleansing from fascist

and other reactionary elements, and the satisfaction of the urgent demands of the workers and peasants, can strengthen the defensive capacity of the nation against a fascist attack.

In every concrete situation, the representatives of the working class must support proposals and must seek to secure the implementation of measures as will offer the greatest possibilities for bringing to bear on the widest scale the pressure of the masses of the people upon the foreign policy of the government in questions of national defence. They must also support all those measures which hinder the capitulation of the bourgeois governments to the fascist aggressor and the betrayal of the independence and liberty of the people by these governments.

In case of a direct threat of war by a fascist aggressor, the Communists – emphasizing that only the proletarian power is able to ensure the reliable defence of the country and its independence, as is plainly shown by the example of the Soviet Union – will seek to bring about the formation of a *Popular Front government*. Such a government, taking determined steps against fascism and the reactionary elements in the country, against the agents and backers of the enemies of peace, and ensuring the control of the organized masses over the defence of the country, will assist in raising the capacity of the people for defence against a fascist aggressor.

Since today the power is in the hands of bourgeois governments, which are no guarantee for the genuine defence of the country and which use the armed forces of the state against the working people, the party of the working class cannot take any political responsibility for the defensive measures of these governments, and therefore opposes the war policy of the government and the military budget as a whole. This does not exclude abstention from voting in particular cases, giving the reason for doing so, on those various measures of a defensive character which are necessary to hinder the attack of a fascist aggressor (e. g., the fortification of frontiers), from voting and speaking in favour of measures dictated by the

interests of the defence of the population against the horrors of war (shelters, gas masks, Red Cross work, etc.).

The time has gone by when the working class did not participate *independently and actively* in deciding such vital questions as war and peace. The difference between Communists and reformists, between revolutionary and reactionary leaders of the working class movement, does not at all consist in the latter's participation in deciding these issues while we revolutionaries are supposedly to remain aloof. No! The difference is that on these, as on other issues, reformists defend the interests of the capitalists, while revolutionaries defend the interests of the working people, the interests of the nation.

These flexible Bolshevik tactics, which are the application of the general tactical line of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International to a specific question, arise of necessity from the whole present-day international situation, particularly from the existence of definite fascist aggressors.

It is really ridiculous when 'Left' phrasemongers of various kinds oppose these tactics, adopting the pose of irreconcilable revolutionaries. If we are to believe them, *all* governments are aggressors. They even quote Lenin, who, during the imperialist war of 1914-18, correctly rejected the argument of the social chauvinists that 'we were attacked and we are defending ourselves.' But the world at that time was divided into two military-imperialist coalitions which were equally striving to establish their world hegemony, and which had equally prepared and provoked the imperialist war. At that time there were neither countries where the proletariat was in power nor countries with a fascist dictatorship.

But now the situation is different. Now we have: (1) a proletarian state which is the greatest bulwark of peace; (2) definite fascist aggressors; (3) a number of countries which are in direct danger of attack by fascist aggressors and in danger of losing their state and national independence; (4) other capitalist governments which are interested at the present moment in the preservation of peace. It is,

therefore, completely wrong now to depict *all* countries as aggressors. Only people who are trying to conceal the real aggressors can distort the facts in such a manner.

III

The peace which exists at present is a bad peace. But in any case this bad peace is better than war. And every consistent supporter of peace will understand at once the need to support all measures which assist in maintaining it, including the measures of the League of Nations, particularly sanctions. Sanctions can be made into an effective means against an aggressor.

If the sanctions taken by the League of Nations did not prevent Italy from continuing the war against Ethiopia, this is not an argument against sanctions but against the powers which undermined their application.

And if German fascism today is flinging a challenge to the nations of the whole world, this is precisely because it reckons on freedom from punishment, because sanctions were not applied to Japan, because the sanctions against Italy were frustrated by the capitalist states, because, finally, when Hitler sent his troops to the frontiers of France and Belgium he was convinced in advance that sanctions against him would be frustrated by the British bourgeoisie.

It is said the application of sanctions increases the war danger and will lead to war. This is not true. Quite the contrary, *the impunity of the aggressor* increases the danger of war. The more resolutely sanctions of an economic and financial character are applied to a fascist aggressor (complete refusal of credits, stopping commerce and the supply of raw material), the less will German fascism be inclined to start a war, because the greater the risk which it will run.

The League of Nations must be ruthlessly criticized for its irresoluteness, passivity, inconsistency. The working class wages an irreconcilable struggle against the governments of those imperialist countries, members of the League of Nations, which help the aggressor for the sake of their own selfish interests, disrupt measures for preserving

peace and sacrifice the interests of small nations to the interests of the big imperialist powers. But it does not follow that we should in general adopt a negative position toward the League of Nations. What interest has the proletariat in playing into the hands of the warmongers, all of whom are at present against the League of Nations? The League of Nations has been deserted by the chief instigators of war, Germany and Japan. The League of Nations includes the Soviet Union, which throws all its international weight into the scales on the side of peace and collective security. In the League of Nations there are also other states that do not want to give the fascist aggressors an opportunity to attack other nations. Those who cannot distinguish between the League of Nations in the past and the League of Nations at present, those who cannot vary their approach to the different members of the League of Nations, those who refuse to bring mass pressure to bear on the League of Nations and the various capitalist governments to secure the adoption of measures to maintain peace, such people are windbags and not revolutionaries or proletarian politicians.

The working class must support those measures of the League of Nations and various states which are really directed toward the preservation of peace (non-aggression pacts, pacts of mutual aid against the aggressor, pacts of collective security, financial and economic sanctions). And not only must it support these measures, but by a mighty mass anti-war movement it must force the League of Nations and the governments of the various capitalist states to take serious steps in defence of peace.

It is not true that the policy of constantly yielding to the demands of the fascist warmongers by the League of Nations and by various countries (Great Britain, France, Belgium, etc.) will help to maintain peace. The workers have not forgotten that at the time, in the internal policy of Germany, if it was precisely the appeasement of and capitulation to attacking fascism which paved the latter's way to power. In the international arena a similar policy of appeasement frees the hands of militant fascism for attack.

Nor is it true that the cause of peace will gain from attempting at the present moment to raise the question of a redistribution of the sources of raw materials, colonies and mandated territories, as the reactionary Social Democratic leaders are doing. In reality this is done with the aim of distracting the attention of the masses from a concrete struggle against the warmongers. On the other hand, such proposals conceal the desire to give colonies to German fascism, which is bound to strengthen still more the military position of German fascism. It is not the business of the proletariat to advocate any particular division of colonies and mandates among the imperialists. Its task is to support the struggle of the colonial peoples for their interests and their rights and for their final liberation from the imperialist yoke.

IV

While demanding effective measures from the League of Nations and the bourgeois governments against the aggressiveness of the fascist firebrands, the proletariat must not overlook for a moment that *the chief, fundamental and decisive thing* in the preservation of peace is the *independent action of the masses in defence of peace against the actual war incendiaries*.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that if the international proletariat, with its mass organizations, especially the trade unions, had acted in unison, and by strikes and other measures had prevented a single ship or a single train from going to or from Italy, Italian fascism would long since have been forced to stop its war of plunder against the Ethiopian people.

But the formation of a really wide Popular Front for peace, strong enough to carry on such a struggle against military fascism, is possible only if there exist *unity of action of the proletariat itself*. It was precisely the establishment of the unity of action of the working class which made it possible for the French and Spanish proletariat to build up a mighty anti-fascist Popular Front.

Rent by internal contradictions, the London Conference of the Socialist International and the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, under the pressure of the reactionary wing, evaded the question of the necessity of immediately bringing about unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale. This conference did not call upon the working masses for independent action, but confined itself to an appeal to rely wholly on the League of Nations. It did not take a stand in defence of the Chinese people, who are being attacked by Japan. It did not condemn in the slightest degree those labour leaders and Social Democratic leaders who defend the aggressive policy of German fascism, masking this by phrases about the 'preservation of peace.'

But, at the same time, a movement for a united front of the working class has been rapidly developing of late in the ranks of the Socialist International and the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions. The basic interests of the whole international proletariat require that these forces gain the upper hand and overcome the resistance of the opponents to the united front.

The fact that fascism, taking advantage of the discord in the parties and organizations of the working class in various countries, has gone over to a military offensive, insistently demands *a single international policy of the working class for the purpose of maintaining peace.*

To sum up, this single international policy of the proletariat can be brought about on the following basis:

1. The restoration and strengthening of real international proletarian solidarity in defence of the interests of the broad masses of working people. The Social Democratic Parties must make a decisive break with the imperialist interests of their bourgeoisie.

2. Every possible support for the peace policy of the Soviet Union, the proletarian state that stands unswervingly in defence of peace among peoples. And this presupposes in the first place a determined struggle by the working class parties against the counter-revolutionary attempts to depict the foreign policy of the Soviet Union as identical with the policy of the imperialist states and to represent the

Red Army, that bulwark of peace, as being the same as the armies of imperialist states – attempts which play into the hands of the fascist warmongers.

3. The blow against the fascist aggressor must be directed with a definite purpose and with concentrated force at every moment; the attitude taken toward the aggressor must be different from that attitude taken toward the victims of his attack; any attempt to gloss over the difference between fascist and non-fascist countries must be exposed.

4. An independent struggle by the proletariat for the preservation of peace, independent of the capitalist governments and the League of Nations, making it impossible for the working class movement to be subordinated to the behind-the-scenes designs of the imperialist governments in the League of Nations.

Under present conditions, the fight to maintain peace is a *fight against fascism*, and this fight is in essence *revolutionary*.

The maintenance of peace is a deadly danger for fascism, because, by increasing its internal difficulties, it leads to the undermining of the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The maintenance of peace helps the growth of the forces of the proletariat, the forces of revolution, helps to heal the split in the ranks of the working class movement. It helps the proletariat to become the leading class in the struggle of all the working people against capitalism. It undermines the foundations of the capitalist system and hastens the victory of socialism.

*

'War may break out quite unexpectedly. Nowadays wars are not declared, they just begin' (Stalin). And this places communists under the obligation to realize quite clearly the scope and character of the war danger, and the ways and means of warding it off.

A decisive step at present toward the establishment of unity of action of the international proletariat against the warmongers is for the Communist Parties of each

separate country to develop in all fields of social and political life the most active, persistent and extensive campaign for the maintenance of peace. The Communists must carry on this campaign, not postponing it until pacts for joint activity have been signed with the leaders of the Social Democratic Parties, but they must unfailingly carry it on from the point of view of the struggle for the establishment of unity of action between the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party. Communists must exert every effort to overcome the resistance of the reactionary Social Democratic leaders to the united front and to strengthen in every way the bonds of joint struggle against the common enemy between the Communist and Social Democratic workers.

Such a campaign, helping to draw the Communist and Social Democratic workers closer together, will help to activate and rally all forces of the proletariat, not only on a national but on an international scale. This will greatly assist the setting into motion of other strata of the working people of town and country, the masses of the petty bourgeoisie, peasants and intellectuals, all friends of peace. All this will hasten the formation of an invincible front of struggle of the international proletariat, of all toiling people, of all peoples, for the preservation of peace.

The struggle for peace is a struggle against fascism, a struggle against capitalism, a struggle for the victory of socialism throughout the world!

May 1, 1946

G. Dimitrov, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, pp. 248-265
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THE POPULAR FRONT AGAINST FASCISM AND WAR*

I

The policy of the Popular Front against fascism and war, proclaimed at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, found a strong echo amid the working people of all countries. The practical implementation of this policy in France and Spain has given ample proof of the *real possibilities* of the Popular Front, and increased still further its popularity.

There is not a single country in the world today, where the idea of a popular front is not winning new followers among those who cherish democracy and liberty, among all those who stand for peace between all nations. The trend towards forging a popular front is growing even in countries like Japan, where the bourgeois-democratic revolution has not yet had its final say, where fascist-feudal militarism, with its adventurous policy, its conquest of Chinese territories and its provocative actions along the boundaries of the great Soviet Union, is driving the Japanese people into the chasm of dreadful calamities. This trend is also growing in the so-called classical countries of bourgeois democracy such as Great Britain, where the two parties of monopoly capital, the Liberals and Tories, which by their reactionary domestic and foreign policy are about to bury democracy and peace, have been traditionally in charge of the fortunes of the nation.

The great historical importance, the correctness and timeliness of the popular front policy are, as a matter of fact, particularly vividly brought out by the attitude adopted toward it by the enemies of the proletariat, the

* Abridged

enemies of democracy and peace, the fascist instigators of war, in short, by the whole of international reaction. The governments of the capitalist states, the bourgeois parties, the statesmen and politicians, and the bourgeois press have been greatly alarmed by the resolutions that were taken at our Seventh Congress. The reactionaries of all countries have launched an unprecedented campaign of slander and instigation against the Communist International and against all of the followers of the popular front. Fascist Germany went even so far as to set up a special organization, the 'Anti-Comintern', for international propaganda against the Communist International and for combating the policy of the popular front. At the National Socialist Congress in Nuremberg Hitler, Goebbels and Rosenberg set off a particularly virulent cannonade against the peril of the popular front, which threatens their fascist dictatorship, and against democracy in general. In aiming the darts of their attacks at the existing Popular Front in France and Spain, they thereby revealed the alarm and fear of the popular front movement that springing up in Germany herself. The Pope in Rome and his 'holy' bishops in various countries hastened to come forth with epistles and sermons so as to protect their flock from the 'dreadful Bolshevik danger' – the popular front. The question of the popular front has not left the pages of the capitalist press and continues to be a topic of lively commentaries.

Our class enemy was quick to sense and realize the great danger which the popular front, the unification of all anti-fascist forces, spelled out for him. As long as the proletariat remains divided, as long as it is isolated from the other working strata of society in town and village, as long as it has not established proper mutual relations and collaboration with the other democratic forces in its own country, the handful of financial and industrial magnates, the fascist bourgeoisie will not experience particular difficulties – as was shown by the example of Italy, Germany and Austria – in crushing the labour movement, in coping with the different strata of the nation one by one, and in burying democracy. The fascists have been successful in

applying the well-known perfidious axiom of 'divide and rule'.

But when the disunited proletarian detachments, on the initiative of the Communists, begin to join hands in the struggle against their common enemy, when the united working class begins to act in common with the peasants, with the petty bourgeoisie, and with all the democratic elements on the basis of the popular front programme, the offensive of the fascist bourgeoisie runs up against insuperable barriers. A force now emerges, capable of putting up a decisive resistance to fascism, of preventing its advent to power in countries of bourgeois democracy, and of overthrowing its barbarous domination wherever it has already been established.

The formation of the popular front marks, as can be seen from the examples of France and Spain, a *turning-point* in the balance of power between the proletariat, on the one hand, and the fascist bourgeoisie, on the other, in favour of the millions of working people. The popular front offers an opportunity to the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the democratic intellectuals not only to oppose the rule and oppression of big business, but also to rise against it in defence of their vital interests and rights, relying on the militant cooperation with the working class on a national and international scale. The popular front points the way out of a situation which seemed hopeless to the petty bourgeois strata, who considered themselves doomed to fall under the heel of fascism. The popular front helps the working class to avoid the political isolation into which it is deliberately being driven by the bourgeoisie; it creates optimum conditions for the proletariat to fulfil its historical mission – to head the struggle of its people against the handful of financial magnates, big capitalists and landowners, to become the vanguard of the unfinished democratic revolutions and of all movements for progress and culture. The class struggle between the exploited and the exploiters thus assumes an incommensurably broader scope and powerful *élan*.

While disunity in the ranks of the working class, the lack of unity of action between the proletariat and the

other working sections of the nation pave the way for the advent to power of fascism, unity in the ranks of the proletariat and the establishment of a popular front ensures the victory of democracy over fascism, protects the world from the fascist warmongers and in the long run paves the way to victory of labour over capital.

It is difficult to imagine a greater political stupidity than to oppose the principles of the class struggle to the policy of the popular front, as certain not too brilliant and zealous critics on the 'left' seem to be doing now with respect to the resolutions taken at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. We often observe the characteristic phenomenon that a number of left-wing Socialists, disappointed by the Social Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, when moving away from the positions of reformism are often inclined to pass over to another extreme and become the victims of sectarianism and ultra-leftist deviations. Incorrectly identifying the policy of the popular front with the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, they come out for a 'pure class policy' of the proletariat and define the joint anti-fascist struggle of the working class and the democratic strata of the petty bourgeoisie, peasants and intellectuals as a surrender of the positions of the class struggle. This, however, does not prove in the least that the policy of the popular front is identical with the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, but only that it is necessary to explain patiently to the honest left-wing socialists the class meaning of the popular front policy, and to help them get rid of their political shortsightedness which only plays into the hands of fascism and of reaction in general.

II

As was already stated at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, the popular front in the different countries will have to be formed differently, depending on their historical, social and political peculiarities, and on the concrete situation in every given country. The uncritical

limitation and mechanical transfer of popular front forms and methods from one country to another will only hamper its establishment, extension and consolidation.

However, as experience has shown, for most of the capitalist countries, it is equally true that:

First – the establishment of a popular front is possible only in the course of an actual struggle against fascism.

Second – the popular front will the sooner become a reality and will be the broader in character, the more decisively the working class itself begins to act as one man and the sooner its organizations and, above all, the mass trade unions, the Communist and Social Democratic Parties achieve unity of action in their struggle against fascism.

Third – the popular front will further expand and consolidate, depending on the fulfilment of its programme for the defence of the interests of the working people, for the defence of democracy and peace against fascism and the fascist war-instigators.

Fourth – the success of the popular front will fully depend on the unity in its ranks, on the political and organizational training of the masses and organizations participating in it, which should be ready to parry at once every blow on the part of fascism, without waiting for its general offensive.

In view of the battle raging between the Spanish people and the fascist insurgents, now that fascism is rearing its ugly head everywhere in the capitalist countries and primarily in France, Czechoslovakia and Belgium, it is the supreme duty of the working class by all means to speed up the formation and consolidation of the popular front, by establishing unity of action on a national and international scale. It is the duty of all Communists to do everything necessary, proceeding from the conditions of their own country, to help the working class to fulfil this historical obligation.

If we are to formulate in brief the foremost immediate tasks that the present situation poses before the international proletariat, we shall see that they boil down to the following:

to help with might and main the Spanish people to crush the fascist insurgents;

not to allow the popular front in France to be discredited or upset;

thoroughly to speed up the formation of a world-wide popular front against fascism and war.

All these tasks are closely interwoven. The most urgent and pressing one at this moment is, however, to organize a campaign of international aid to the Spanish people for their victory over fascism.

The course of events in all capitalist countries in the near future will depend, in many ways, on the outcome of the Spanish people's struggle against the fascist oppressors. The actions of fascism in Spain have shown once again that it is not only the worst enemy of the proletariat, of the Soviet Union, but also an enemy of freedom, of any democratic country, even though its economic and political system does not transcend the limits of bourgeois society.

Fascism brings with it the liquidation of all democratic gains of the peoples, it establishes a rule of obscurantism and destruction of culture, of racial inanities, and a gospel of hatred of man, for the purpose of fomenting aggressive war. The riff-raff of the Foreign Legion, the betrayed Moroccans, fighting under the command of fascist generals and armed by the fascist rulers of Germany, Italy and Portugal, and the troops sent by Germany and Italy are now sowing death and destruction in Spain. The soldiers of the Republican Army before the walls of Madrid, in Catalonia, in the mountains of Asturia and in the whole Peninsula, are defending not only the freedom and independence of Republican Spain, but also the democratic gains of all peoples and the cause of peace against the fascist firebrands.

The Spanish events are of particular importance because they have revealed the great force of united proletarian action, the force of the popular front in the fight against fascism. Now everybody realizes that in Spain the fascist generals would long ago have set up a dictatorship had it not been for the united action between the Communist, Socialist and Anarchist workers, for the broad

fighting front of the Spanish people from the Communists to the left Republicans. They would have butchered the workers, the working people and all the democratic elements all over Spain. They would have subjected the country to orgies of mediaeval reaction and inquisition, they would have placed it under the arbitrary sway of the German and Italian fascists, they would have ceded to them the most important strategic Mediterranean points and would have turned Spain into a bridgehead for the implementation of their criminal military plans.

But in Spain the fascist rebels and their instigators in Berlin and Rome met a force which blocked their way. They ran into the *armed resistance of the popular front*. With their heroic fight the Spanish people are now giving an example of how democracy should be defended against fascism. All those who do not wish to see their own country falling prey to fascist barbarity are interested in the victory of the Spanish people. Their victory will be the victory of the entire international democracy, the victory of progress and culture over fascist reaction, the victory of the front of peace over the fascist fomentors of war. It will consolidate the popular front in France and will deal a heavy blow to fascism in all countries. The heroic struggle of the Spanish people is a clear and convincing warning to the dark powers of fascism in the countries, which are feverishly preparing fascist coups d'états, that the times have passed now when fascism was able to exploit the disunity in the ranks of the working class and the working people, to catch the people unawares, deceive the politically backward elements and seize power in the country. This struggle shows that, given a solid popular front and concerted actions of the working class on an international scale, it is impossible to establish fascist rule over a nation ready to defend its freedom and independence. In this way the cause of democracy and peace in Europe, the cause of the struggle against fascism and war in all countries is indissolubly linked through a thousand fibres with the interests of the popular front in Spain, whose valiant fighters are now up in arms in defence of the Republic to ensure the victory of the Spanish Revolution.

The most recent developments and, in first place, the lessons that can be drawn from the Spanish situation show that the time has come when democracy must be defended against fascist aggression by all possible means, including an armed struggle. This should be grasped and remembered by all workers and working people, by all those who do not wish to fall victim to fascist slavery and brutal violence.

It is not a question that the adherents of democracy and peace have become in general admirers of the armed struggle, but the fact is that fascism fans civil war against the democratic regime in every country, sows destruction and death and compels the people to defend their life, freedom and independence arms in hand.

It must be understood that the question now is not about some distant threat on the part of fascism but that fascism, having already established a terrorist dictatorship in such big countries as Germany and Italy and, in its endeavour to do the same thing in Spain, is from day to day preparing to crush the workers' movement and wipe out democracy in the other countries and is fanning a world imperialist war.

It should not be assumed that the war waged against the Spanish people is an accidental, isolated act. No. This war is a link in the chain of aggressive actions of fascism on the world arena. We should not cherish the illusion that the war launched by fascism against the Spanish people will be the last one. Fascism is getting ready to deal blows to democracy in France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, to democracy in Great Britain, Switzerland, the Scandinavian and other countries. The fascist reactionaries, both within and outside the country, are preparing fascist revolts and coups d'état and biding their time to perpetrate them at the opportune moment. The crushing of the workers' movement and the wiping out of European democracy is indispensable to fascism like water and air, in order to prepare a new imperialist war, to grab alien territories and subject foreign peoples to its sway, to secure the unbridled

domination of the most reactionary predatory elements of finance capital and to organize a crusade against the Soviet Union.

The adherents of democracy should never forget that the destiny of anti-fascist democracy in Europe is indissolubly linked with the destiny of the working class, with the establishment of a popular front. Democracy is bound to perish under the blows of advancing fascism unless it is supported by the working class and the broad masses and unless it is ready to defend itself with might and main against fascism.

The policy of retreat before fascism, both on a national and international scale, is bringing grist to the mill of fascism, ruin to the people, death to democracy. This policy is equally harmful both to those who retreat before fascism inside the country, and to nations as a whole which retreat before it on the world arena.

The fascist rulers in Germany are systematically blackmailing the bourgeois democratic countries and the present rulers of those countries are lending themselves to this blackmail. It should be clear, however, that the more concessions are made to the fascists without resisting their onslaught, the more insolent they become. The fascists act by means of their tried method – provocation. In Germany they set fire to the Reichstag and raised a hue and cry that it was the Communists who had done it. In Spain they staged a rebellion against the parliamentary regime, against the lawful republican government and are clamouring that the popular front is to blame for the civil war. The fascists threaten spineless liberals and jelly-bodied democrats, while the democratic businessmen who tremble for their profits, the ministers, politicians and leaders of the various liberal and democratic parties who cling to cushy jobs, as well as quite a few people from the ranks of the Socialist and the Amsterdam International, succumb to these threats and are looking for ways and means to appease fascism. They try to convince the masses of the possibility of pursuing a 'middle of the road' policy, when Paul could be paid without robbing Peter. *But you cannot feed the fascist wolves with concessions, you will not stop*

them with such a policy. Actually this policy leads to demobilizing the forces and the will of the toiling masses.

The events in Spain are again a striking case in point.

It is now quite clear to everybody that the fascists, and in the first place the German and Italian fascists who used the Spanish generals to start an insurrection, counted on it that the young Republican Government of Spain would be unable to put up a stiff resistance and that they would find no difficulty in subjugating the country, plundering its natural resources and occupying its islands of strategic importance. The fascists decided on military operations in Spain because in the recent past they got away with their crimes. The introduction of compulsory military service in Germany, the militarization of the Rhineland, the conquest of Abyssinia by Italy and the earlier conquest of parts of China by Japan, tacitly allowed by the bourgeois democratic countries and the League of Nations, has whetted the appetites of the brazen-faced fascists and encouraged them to undertake other brigand acts of aggression. The fascists would never have dared to fan civil war in other countries, to send arms, planes, tanks, flotillas and finally military units, if they had in time been earnestly rapped on the knuckles. They would have been compelled to give way if at the very start of the fascist rebellion in Spain they had met the powerful force of the international workers' movement, acting in a united front, if resistance had been put up against them on the part of the governments of bourgeois democracy, if those governments had not maintained the blockade against the Spanish Republic by their treacherous policy of non-intervention.

We often hear assertions made by people who claim to be supporters of democracy to the effect that the establishment of a popular front leads only to intensifying fascist aggression, to accelerating armed action on the part of fascism. Hence the conclusion: if you wish to avert the barbarous rule of fascism, do not set up a popular front, but try to come to terms peacefully with Hitler and Mussolini and with your own Hitlers and Mussolinis at home. But there is nothing more erroneous and harmful to the proletariat and

the whole people in the countries of bourgeois democracy than the sheepish wisdom of such would-be democrats. It boils down to the dull, ugly and decadent maxim: 'Do not irritate the beast if you wish it not to attack you.' And this monstrous moral maxim is being served to the Social Democratic workers precisely after the cruel defeat of the working people in Germany and Austria! It is a well-known fact that in Germany and Austria the leaders of the Social Democratic parties and trade unions firmly rejected any joint action with the Communists, justifying their policy on the ground that a united front with the Communist Party would repel the middle classes from the working class, would strengthen fascism's positions and aggression, accelerate its general offensive and lead to its victory and the destruction of democracy. The heavy defeats, followed by countless horrors and disasters, that befell the German and Austrian peoples were the result of precisely this policy. On the other hand, we see that the popular front in France blocked the road of fascism, and that it is precisely thanks to the popular front that the Spanish people have now for five months been fighting heroically for their freedom and independence. In this hard struggle the greater will be its chance of success, the more the Spanish working class succeeds in fully preserving the monolithic unity of the popular front, the more it succeeds in subordinating the historically existing differences between Communists, Socialists and Anarchists to the nation's supreme interest – the crushing of the fascist rebellion, the more determined a resistance it puts up against the attempts at skipping the inevitable stages of the revolution by some short-sighted sectarians, light-minded day-dreamers and Trotskyite *agents provocateurs*. And finally, the more quickly and decisively the Spanish people are assisted by the international proletariat and by all progressive mankind, the sooner they will be able to make short work of the fascist rebels.

Analogy is, of course, no proof, but it often illustrates a given situation vividly. It can safely be asserted that if at the time of the Leipzig trial, when the sword of beastly nazism hung over the heads of the accused Communists,

the anti-fascists in all countries as well as we in the courtroom had followed this 'sage' policy – not to irritate the beast, German fascism would not have suffered such a moral and political defeat, the heads of the innocently accused Communists would not have remained on their shoulders, and the Saint Bartholomew's night planned by the bloodthirsty fascists against the thousands of fascist prisoners, kept in prisons and concentration camps, would not have been averted.

No, the policy of 'do not irritate the beast' is a futile policy. This policy is under all conditions fatal for the working class, democracy and peace. On the contrary, *the fascist beast must be bridled. The mighty, organized fist of the popular front must be opposed to it. An iron muzzle must be put on it, so as to prevent it from biting. It must be hit and destroyed, in order to save the democratic gains of the peoples and save peace.*

This, of course, does not mean that we should allow ourselves to fall under the influence of the provocations on the part of the fascists who, fanning civil war inside the country and imperialist war beyond its boundaries, with all possible means would like to deceive the masses and present matters in such a way as to make them believe that it is the parties of the popular front and the nations that support peace which lead us to civil war and military complications.

In the most recent political history of Europe we have two instructive examples of reactions to fascism which have produced diametrically opposite results.

If in Germany the Social Democratic leaders refused to establish unity of action among the working class and thereby facilitated the coming to power of the fascists, France offers a different example.

As a result of the joint battles fought by the Communist and Socialist Parties and the policy of relentless struggle against the fascist danger pursued on the basis of the popular front, the French proletariat succeeded in putting up a firm resistance to fascism's advent to power in Germany this is the greatest victory of the proletariat and democracy in Europe. The working people in the other capitalist coun-

tries can and should draw important lessons from the French proletariat. But these successes in France are only initial successes. They must be consolidated and followed up by a further offensive against fascism. Every attempt to discredit or frustrate the popular front must meet with the firmest resistance on the part of all workers, all anti-fascists. The rallying of the fascist forces in a country, the growing fascist aggressiveness in the neighbouring countries, and the rich lessons that can be drawn from the developments in Spain eloquently prove to the proletariat and all anti-fascists that they have to invest ten times greater efforts in the struggle against fascism, to forge a united popular front still more resolutely and strongly.

There is no reason to doubt that this policy will be persistently and firmly pursued as the only correct one in the struggle against growing fascist aggression. But the preservation of the popular front in France does not at all mean that the working class will under all circumstances support the present government. The composition of the government can change, but the popular front must continue to exist and grow ever stronger. If the present government proves for some reason not to be in a position to implement the programme of the popular front, if it embarks on the road of retreat before the inner and external enemy, or if its policy leads to discrediting the popular front and in this way weakens the resistance against the fascist offensive, the working class, while continuing to strengthen the links of the popular front, will strive to replace this government by a government steadily pursuing the programme of the popular front and capable of coping with the fascist danger and of securing the democratic liberties of the French people and their defence against external fascist aggression.

Side by side with the preservation and consolidation of the popular front in France, the development of united action on the part of all detachments of the British working class against fascism and war deserves special attention. We all know that Great Britain plays a prime role in international affairs. Its position exercises a pronounced influence on quite a few bourgeois democratic countries as

well as on the general international situation. The whole present set-up raises with particular emphasis the question about the part played by the working class in Great Britain on a national and international scale. This imposes on it exceptionally important obligations in the struggle against fascism and for the preservation of peace as well as for setting up unity in the international workers' movement. The British working class won democratic rights earlier than the working people in the other countries. The democratic regime which it succeeded in establishing enables it to exercise a still greater influence on the nation's policy than the proletariat in a number of other countries. The workers of Great Britain possess powerful means of fighting for democracy, the preservation of peace, against fascism and more particularly against the fascist rebels in Spain and the German, Italian and Portuguese interventionists.

There is no doubt that the British working class, which has inherited the glorious traditions of the Chartist movement, that working class in whose midst the First International of *Marx and Engels* was founded and which established powerful unified trade union organizations, will be able to generate sufficient forces and will to overcome all obstacles along the road to setting up a united popular front for fighting fascism and war, and will fulfil with honour its international obligations in the defence of democracy, civilization and peace.

The working class is called upon to play a decisive role in setting up a powerful popular front. It can and must rally around itself all working people, all forces of democracy, all anti-fascists. At the present moment in an atmosphere of rabid fascist aggression, directed, as was particularly vividly demonstrated by the Nürenberg Congress of the raging German fascists, *against every democracy*, when everything must be done to save the Spanish Democratic Republic, when the sinister threat of a new imperialists world war is impending, not only the *splitting of the forces of the proletariat is impermissible but every delay in setting up a united front is also impermissible and criminal*. This delay plays into the hands of fascism, it may result in new heavy blows against the proletariat and democracy.

The working class should no longer tolerate a situation in which leaders of the Second Socialist International are going out of their way to deepen the split in the proletarian ranks at a moment when Socialist and Communist workers in Spain are fighting and dying side by side at the front in defending not only the freedom and democracy of the Spanish people against fascist barbarity, but also the democracy and culture of all Europe.

At the moment when the fascist rebels are killing Socialist and Communist workers in Spain fighting shoulder to shoulder at the fronts and are dooming the whole country to havoc and destruction, the leadership of the Socialist International stubbornly refuses to render organized assistance to the Spanish people together with the Communist International.

In many countries there are Socialist governments or coalition governments with the participation of Social Democratic Ministers, leaders of the Socialist parties and the Socialist International. But these governments not only do not endorse the standpoint of the Soviet Union on the Spanish question, which is in full accord with the interests of the Spanish people. The responsibility for this policy, which is exceedingly harmful to the interests of the world proletariat, will of course be borne by the Socialist leaders who pursue it. *But it would be denying a historical truth if we were to pass over in silence that part of responsibility which falls on all leaders of the Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals.* Their leaders speak and act on their behalf, as their representatives. If they allow the implementation of such a policy, *they cannot evade their responsibility.* They must realize that it is their common historical duty, together with the communists, to do their best to bar the way of fascism and to preserve peace.

The united front of the working class itself in the big capitalist countries, the joint action of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties, as well as of the trade unions of various political trends, are assuming exceptionally great importance in the establishment and broadening of a popular front for fighting fascism and war and on an international scale – the joint action of the Communist, Socialist

and Amsterdam Internationals. All obstacles blocking the path to such joint action should be cleared away as soon as possible. To achieve this, the Communist Parties, as well as all those who stand for proletarian unity and a popular front in the ranks of the Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals should put in a tremendous amount of strenuous day-to-day work.

Already the Seventh Congress of the Communist International took into consideration the fact that it was not at all easy to overcome the split in the working class. All that the class enemies and their agents and lackeys have done in the course of many decades for the purpose of splitting the forces of the working people cannot be undone by a mere wave of the hand and by wishful thinking. Our whole experience after the Congress showed still more clearly that the path to united action of the working class on a national and international scale *was no straight, smooth, asphalt road*. It is quite a difficult zig-zag road, which is often thorny and steep.

The overt and covert enemies of unity persist in putting up various obstacles and barriers. Every step has to be won with great efforts, with stubborn work and struggle. Those that have been misled must be enlightened and convinced with great patience. The doubters and waverers must be constantly heartened. The saboteurs and double dealers must be ruthlessly unmasked. It is necessary to wage a stubborn struggle against a number of sly sophists, clever politicians and skilful demagogues who try by all means to suggest to the simple and politically inexperienced worker that *two and two makes three instead of four*, that the united front of the working class does not increase its strength, but allegedly leads only to promoting fascist aggression. At the same time, we must not yield to the provocative manoeuvres of the opponents of unity, but constantly lend a fraternal helping hand for a joint struggle to all organizations of the working people – even when they are headed by known opponents of this unity. Every Communist, every conscientious worker should not forget for a minute that all opponents of the unity of the international proletariat, the Citrines or whatever other names

they might have, would be exceedingly pleased if, as a result of their sabotage and provocation, the Communists were to give up the struggle for unity and abandon their persistent pursuit of the popular front policy. This would only facilitate the disruptive role of these leaders and would temporarily save them from the stern judgement issued by the court of the proletariat and history. We should know how to wage a relentless ideological fight against reformism and the other anti-Marxist trends in the ranks of the workers' movement and, at the same time, constantly fight to build up a united popular front, assiduously avoiding the frustration of joint action in our daily struggle against fascism and war.

Twenty-two years ago, on the eve of the imperialist world war, the great *Lenin*, while mobilizing the forces of the working class for the approaching struggle for socialism, stressed the immense importance of unity in the ranks of the proletariat in these words:

Unity is indeed necessary for the workers. And it is most necessary to realize that but for the workers themselves, *no one* will 'give' them unity, *no one* is in a position to help them achieve their unity. Unity cannot be 'promised' – this would be an empty boast, self-deception; unity cannot be 'created' by 'agreement' between small intellectual groups – this is the most lamentable, naïve and ignorant delusion.

Unity must be won, and only the workers themselves, the class-conscious workers are in a position to obtain it – through persistent and stubborn efforts.

There is nothing easier than to write the word 'unity' in big letters, to promise it, to 'proclaim' yourself as its champion. But only the vanguard workers, all class-conscious workers, can actually propel unity by their own efforts and organization.

... This is no easy task. It requires the efforts, perseverance and rallying of all class-conscious workers. But without such efforts, it is useless even to speak about working class unity.*

These remarkable words of *Lenin* are in the present period a particularly valuable instruction for the working class in all capitalist countries.

* V.I. Lenin, *On Unity*, Complete Works, Vol. 20, pp. 328-329 (Russian edition)

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The entire course of events after the Seventh Congress of the Communist International irrefutably confirms the vital necessity of fulfilling most rapidly its historical slogans for working class unity and for a popular front against the most vicious enemy of humanity – fascism. The Communist International and the Communist Parties in the different countries, relying on the support of the working people, will not cease even for a minute to fight with all their forces for the achievement of this unity. They will not yield to any provocations aimed at deepening the split within the working class and at foiling the popular front. And in spite of all counteraction on the part of the saboteurs from the Socialist and the Amsterdam Internationals, the international proletariat will achieve its militant unity.

What is needed against fascism and war is not empty words or platonic wishes, but actions. For these actions it is necessary to unite all forces of the working class and unwaveringly to carry through the policy of the Popular Front.

November 1936
G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 10, pp. 280-302
Published by the BCP, 1954

* V.I. Lenin, On Unity, Complete Works, Vol. 20, pp. 328-329 (Russian edition)

SUPREME BEHEST AT PRESENT

I

The whole international situation at present is characterized by fascism's feverish preparations for a reparation of the world by means of an aggressive war and, at the same time, by the growing unity of the international proletariat and the gathering of the forces of the working people, the adherents of democracy and peace, for the struggle against fascism and war.

The fascist aggressors in the West and the East are in a hurry to reach agreement on the ways, means and objects of their aggression at all cost. Berlin, Rome and Tokyo are concluding various pacts and military agreements with one another. There can be no doubt that Hitler's and Mussolini's intervention in Spain, their war against the Spanish people, as well as the aggressive actions of the Japanese militarists in China, are just stages in the preparation for a major war.

Even though there exist differences between the interests of these war-incendiaries, they jointly pursue a subversive activity in the non-fascist countries, which wish to preserve the peace, by supporting reactionary parties and groups in those countries in every way possible, by organizing coups d'état against the governments and regimes that do not suit them and their aims, and by sowing counter-revolutionary anarchy everywhere. Their criminal hand can be seen in the treacherous activity of De la Roque and Doriot in France, of Degrelle in Belgium, of Henlein in Czechoslovakia, in the fascist intrigues in the

Scandinavian and the Balkan countries, in Hungary and Austria, in Poland and in the Baltic states, in the policy of the pro-Japanese elements in China, and in the actions of the Hearst circles in the United States of America.

The fascist aggressors, who are vitally interested in the utmost weakening of the nations' defensive capacity with regard to fascist aggression, in disorganizing the labour movement and in foiling the now emerging popular front, everywhere use the Trotskyites as their agents for these purposes. They have taken under their protection the Fourth International - this riff-raff of renegades and traitors of the working class and secret police agents. The fascist rage is chiefly aimed at the Soviet Union, against the great land of socialism, the mainstay of peace, freedom and progress of mankind, the foremost obstacle on the road of fascist aggression.

There can be no doubt whatever that the fascist rulers of Germany and Italy and the fascist military clique in Japan would already have kindled the fire of another world war, if there were no such mighty guard of peace as the Soviet Union, if there were not a powerful movement in the ranks of the international proletariat to intensify the fight against fascism and to set up a united popular front, if the Spanish people had not succeeded in so heroically repelling all fascist attacks, if the French proletariat had not forged an anti-fascist popular front, and if the Chinese people had not set out to rally their forces in an all-national front against the Japanese conquerors.

All this, however, merely obstructs the fulfilment of the perfidious schemes of the fascist war-incendiaries: they have not desisted and never will desist from their schemes of their own free will. After Mussolini's hordes were routed at Guadalajara, the foreign interventionists are now throwing new armed forces into battle against the Spanish people. Uttering peaceful statements before Landsbury, the Labour Party leader, who is as naïve as a child and suffers from political blindness, Hitler is strenuously preparing a blow against Czechoslovakia, whose extinction as an independent state, according to the fascist conception, is necessary for the 'pacification of Europe'. German fascism

is getting set to gobble up Austria and is fomenting fascist coups d'état in a number of other countries. On its part, the Japanese military clique is trying, by hook or by crook, to crush the democratic opposition in its own country, so as to be able with so much more aggressiveness to attack the Chinese people.

From long experience it has become clear that no admonitions can stop the fascist war-incendiaries. The only effective way of checking them is the relentless united struggle of the masses against fascism in the different countries and on an international scale. Only the unity of action of the international proletariat, rallying around it all strata of the working people, all progressive, democratic elements, all true adherents of peace is in a position to check the insolent fascists who have become too big for their boots and to bury their piratic schemes for ever.

All recent events show that wherever the proletariat is fighting fascism as one man and firmly, wherever the working masses are united in a common anti-fascist front, fascism is unable to enslave the working class, and to enthrall the people who are ready to defend their rights, freedoms and independence selflessly and by all means.

The nine-month long struggle of the Spanish people who firmly repulsed the armed attacks of fascism, the successes of the popular front in France and the growing anti-Japanese movement in China have already led to results which indisputably confirm this truth, as well as the whole historical significance of the united popular front for the cause of the fight against fascism and war. Everyone can now see clearly for himself from the glaring examples in a number of countries that where there is a popular front, where the masses are resisting fascism and not following the rotten policy of 'not irritating the fascist beast', fascism is suffering defeat. The successes of the popular front in non-fascist countries not only bars the way to fascism in those countries, but also exerts a powerful influence over the masses in the countries under fascist dictatorship and undermines the latter's foundations. The very first serious defeats inflicted on the fascist interventionists in Spain especially at Guadalajara, raised the curtain which

conceal's the inherent rottenness, the contradictions and instability of the fascist regime, and led to a strengthening of anti-fascist sentiments in Italy and Germany.

II

At the present moment history has entrusted a great mission to the international proletariat – to save mankind from the barbarity of fascism, from the horrors of the new imperialist slaughter it is now preparing.

To help the Spanish people to free themselves from the fascist oppressors; to help the German and Italian peoples to break the chains of the fascist regime; to help the Chinese people in their struggle against the Japanese conquerors; to help the small nations to defend their freedom and independence; to create an impassable barrier against fascist aggression to the West and to the East – such is the concrete road to fulfilling the international proletariat's historical mission at the given stage. And the fulfilment of this mission is entirely within the scope of its forces if it acts in a united and organized way.

The foremost detachment of the international proletariat – the working class of the Soviet Union – is a force organized by the state. It heads a powerful state, which is a land of peace and freedom for all peoples. Over one-sixth of the globe the working class of the USSR under the leadership of Lenin's great Party, after overthrowing the landowners and the capitalists, and establishing the proletarian dictatorship, has won the victory for socialism and realized true democracy, consolidated in the new Constitution of the USSR.

Another heroic detachment of the International proletariat – the working class in Spain – is fighting on front positions against fascism, rallying its ranks ever more closely and the ranks of the Spanish people in the popular anti-fascist front. As the guiding force of the armed people, united around the government of the popular front, the Spanish proletariat is defending not only the

freedom and independence of its country, but also the interests of the entire international proletariat, the common cause of democracy and peace.

The working class in France, which has begun to implement a united front in its ranks, has united the trade unions in a Single Confederation of Labour, which already includes over five million workers. The working class in France has formed a popular front, against which all the intrigues of French fascism dash in vain. The successes of the popular front in France are giving a strong impetus to the movement for a popular front in the other countries.

The working class in the United States, for the first time in the history of America, is manifesting its independence as a class, uniting its forces in the mass trade unions, and fighting actively in the front ranks of the democratic and progressive forces in the country against reaction and fascism.

In Great Britain the working class, which forms the overwhelming majority of the population and which has at its disposal powerful organizations, represents a tremendous force by itself, whose relative weight in the international workers' movement is increasing owing to the special situation which Great Britain occupies in world politics. On condition that militant unity of action is established among all the forces of the labour and communist movement, the British proletariat is in a condition not only to repel any reaction in its country but also to play an important role in the international struggle against fascism and war.

Without reviewing in detail all the other countries, we may state without exaggeration that the movement for the unity of the working class is growing, although not at the same rate everywhere, not only in the countries which are threatened by fascism and the aggression of the fascist states, but also in the countries in which there is a fascist dictatorship.

The main thing now consists in further cementing the unity of the working class on a national scale, in finding a common language, a common platform which will enable the proletariat to act in a united front on an international

scale and to concentrate in due time its main forces on those sectors of the anti-fascist struggle, which at a given moment happen to be the most important.

The establishment of unity of action of the international proletariat against the common foe, the deadly enemy of all mankind – fascism, is *the principal urgent task of the workers' organizations throughout the world, a supreme behest at present.*

It is a difficult and a big task, transcending the ordinary current tasks of the labour movement. But the resolution of this task will radically change the political course of events, will give them a new bent in the interests of the working people, will turn the working class and its organizations into a force which will influence most the destiny of its own country, as well as the destiny of mankind as a whole.

What is the first prerequisite for the fulfilment of this task of immense historical significances?

First, all workers' organizations must realize the necessity of concentrating the fight on the *main enemy*, on the striking force of the most reactionary section of the big bourgeoisie – *fascism*. All workers' organizations, when determining their policy, must proceed from *the defence of their own class interests*, and must not act in the interests of the bourgeoisie. Proceeding from their own class interests, the working class and its organizations thereby defend the interests of all exploited men, of the whole nation. An end must be put to the policy of reconciling the interests of the exploited and the exploiters. You cannot be at the same time on the side of big business and on the side of the working people. You cannot serve, as it is said, both God and mammon. You cannot go both with the insurgent generals and with the Spanish people. You cannot be for the victory of the Spanish people and seek a compromise with General Franco. You cannot pledge allegiance to the Spanish Republic in words, and in practice refuse her all means of defence so as to please the British Tories. You cannot express your readiness to fight fascism and at the same time incite people against the Communists, the most consistent fighters against the fascist oppressors.

Second, it is necessary to *curb the enemies of the united*

front inside the ranks of the labour movement. The workers crave for unity of action, but an uncritical attitude towards the 'big names' and an ill-understood loyalty to one's own organization often prevent the workers from coming out against those leaders who, by their dishonest manoeuvres, foil the establishment of a united front. Since those leaders refuse to obey the supreme will of the working class, since they prefer to serve the bourgeoisie, placing their personal careerist interests above those of the working class, it is the elementary duty of every workers' organization to muster sufficient courage and to find the necessary ways and means of realizing its will towards unity, notwithstanding all obstacles.

Third, it is necessary to *oppose most resolutely all those who indulge in a slanderous campaign against the USSR*. To fight the USSR means to fight socialism, the great aim of the working class, set down in the programme of the overwhelming majority of workers' organizations throughout the world. To fight the USSR means to fight against the working class' greatest victory in history, a victory which multiplies the forces of the entire international proletariat and the working people. To fight the USSR – that is the most important part of the fiendish scheme of the fascists, aimed at splitting the forces of the international proletariat, so as to smash them separately more easily, to crush the workers' movement, to put the working class and all working people in the capitalist countries under the yoke of a fascist dictatorship. You cannot be an enemy of fascism and at the same time fight the USSR, this vanguard of the international anti-fascist movement. You cannot be a Socialist and even an honest democrat, without resolutely and wholeheartedly siding with the Soviet Union – the great land of socialism and of genuine national democracy. The *touchstone* of fidelity to the interests of the working class, of loyalty to socialism for every labour militant and for every workers' organization is, as a matter of fact, one's attitude to the Soviet Union.

Fourth, it is necessary, while fighting fascism, to beat most mercilessly its *Trotskyite agents*, who represent a gang of spies, wreckers, terrorists and provocateurs in the service

of German fascism and the Japanese military clique. By order of the fascist intelligence service, the Trotskyite monsters engage in subversive activities against the land of socialism, do all they can to deepen the split and to prevent the unity of the workers' movement in other countries, and seek to sap the popular front movement from within. Everywhere they prove to be saboteurs of the labour movement, disorganizers of the struggle of the masses against fascism. The unity of the international proletariat against fascism and war is inconceivable and impossible without combating the Trotskyite gents of fascism.

These are the *most elementary conditions* for the achievement of unity of action of the international proletariat against fascism and war. But precisely the activity of those leaders, who have a decisive say in determining the policy of the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals, runs counter to the realization of these elementary conditions. They not only systematically reject the proposals of the Communist Party and the Communist International for joint action in defence of the Spanish people, but also stifle the initiative of those organizations of the Second International which act in a common front with the Communists against fascism, against the German and Italian interventionists in Spain. At the London Conference of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals the delegates of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals the delegates of the Socialist Party and of the General Workers' Union in Spain tried in vain to pierce the wall of cool indifference towards the heroic struggle of the Spanish people. In vain did they appeal to the Second and Amsterdam Internationals for support in the struggle of Republican Spain by means of joint actions of all the working class organizations. The delegates of Spain left the Conference profoundly disappointed. In their decisions the two Internationals did not go beyond the bounds of declarations and resolutions acceptable to the British Tories.

The enemies of the unity of the working class, the reactionary leaders in the ranks of these Internationals, not only sabotaged the cause of the decisive all-round help, for the Spanish people, but went even further. They are taking

all measures to split the popular front within Spain itself, intriguing, sowing mistrust, egging the Socialist leaders on against the Communist Party, thereby weakening both the bastion of the popular front and the defensive capacity of the Spanish Republic. At the same time, today, when the example of the French proletariat, which has achieved united action and offered resistance to fascism by means of the popular front, is inspiring the workers of all countries, the reactionary leaders are weaving a web of intrigues, with a view to fanning mistrust between the Socialist and the Communist Parties in France, to undermining the popular front, and to preparing conditions for the creation of a coalition between the bourgeoisie and the right-wing elements in the Socialist Party, directed against the Communists and the popular front movement. In this way, they are sacrificing the interests of the working class to please the most reactionary strata of the bourgeoisie. For these leaders, not fascism but communism is the principal enemy. For Citrine, Bevin and Adler, the principal enemy is not Franco but Dolores Ibarruri, the heroine of the Spanish people, not De la Roque and Hitler, but Thorez and Thaelmann.

III

It would be naïve to assume that proletarian unity of action can be achieved by persuading, exhorting or conjuring the reactionary leaders. International proletarian unity cannot be achieved without a stubborn struggle on the part of all its adherents against the overt and the covert enemies of that unity.

Sometimes voices rise from the ranks of the Socialists, asserting that the Communists impede the creation of a united front by their frank and sincere criticism of the conduct of the leaders of the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals. Yet, can the creation of a united front be achieved without criticizing in the most resolute manner those who want to impede it in every way? What kind of militants of the labour movement would we be if we did

not frankly state the whole truth on a matter of such importance for the entire working class?

Whoever passes over in silence or covers up the harmful actions of the reactionary leaders in the ranks of the labour movement does not help the cause of working class unity. Whoever, allegedly in the interest of a united proletarian front, desists from combating its enemies and from criticizing reformism, subordinating the workers' movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie, is doing the working class an ill service.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International, proclaiming the policy of a united proletarian popular front in its resolution, *The Offensive of Fascism and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle for Working Class Unity against Fascism*, particularly indicates:

Joint action with the Social Democratic Parties and organizations, far from excluding, on the contrary, *makes it all the more necessary* to subject social-democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, to serious and well-founded criticism reformism, and patiently to explain the principles and the programme of Communism to the social-democratic workers.*

Whoever fails to follow this instruction of the Seventh Congress is a poor fighter for working class unity and for the popular front against fascism and war. Whoever thinks that the struggle for a popular front relieves us of the necessity to fight for the principles and the radical interests of the workers' movement, against the theories and views hostile to the working class, is making a great error. The cause of the united front will not suffer from such a struggle; it can only profit from it. Moreover, a struggle of this kind is a premise for actually developing and consolidating the united popular front against fascism and war.

It should never be forgotten that in fighting consistently and stubbornly for a united popular front, the Communists are pursuing not a policy of unprincipled coalition, but a policy of principle.

* Resolutions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International

When we fight resolutely in defence of democratic rights and freedoms, against reaction and fascism, we do this as Marxists, as consistent proletarian revolutionaries, and not as bourgeois democrats or reformists. When we proclaim our defence of the national interests of our people, of their independence and freedom, we do not turn into nationalists or bourgeois patriots, but do this as proletarian revolutionaries and true sons of our people. When we proclaim our defence of religious freedom, against the fascist persecution of believers, we do not retreat from our Marxist world outlook which is devoid of all religious prejudices.

Pursuing the policy of a popular front against fascism and war, engaging in joint actions with other parties and organizations of the working people against the common enemy, fighting for their daily interests and democratic rights, for peace and freedom, the Communists always bear in mind the historical necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, which has outlived its time, and of the realization of socialism, which brings liberation to the working class and all mankind.

Let us correctly combine the pursuit of the popular front policy with Marxist propaganda, with raising the theoretical level of the cadres of the working class movement, with mastering the great teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin as a guide to action – that is what we must learn to do and daily teach our cadres and the masses. We must beware of failing to see the forest for the trees. We must not permit the divorce of practice from theory, opposition between the fulfilment of urgent day-by-day tasks and the long-range prospects and aims of the struggle of the working class. We must not forget that the more the popular front movement broadens, the more complex the tactical problems of the movement become, the more necessary a real Marxist analysis of the situation and the balance of contending forces becomes, the more necessary it is to have the reliable compass of Marxist-Leninist theory in our hands.

*

The proletariat is the most consistent fighter for the creation and consolidation of the united popular front against fascism on a national and an international scale. Without the proletariat the popular front is quite inconceivable. The proletariat is the principal motive force of every anti-fascist popular movement, of every mass movement in defence of democracy and peace. It fights jointly with the democratic petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the intelligentsia against their common enemy. But the proletariat must rely first and foremost on its own forces, on unity within the ranks of the workers' movement in every country and on unity within the world workers' movement. For, the more united and the more organized the proletariat is, the more truly it will be able to defend its class interests and the better it will be able to fulfil its leading role in the ranks of the united popular front.

For the Communists and all class-conscious workers the task ensuing from this is not to spare any efforts, not to be daunted by difficulties, not to leave the slightest possibility unutilized to thrust forward the cause of unity of action of the working class on a national and an international scale. This cause must be furthered until full unity of the trade union movement is achieved, and until a single mass Party of the proletariat is created. Here too it should be clearly stated that the unity of the proletariat will be the more rapidly realized, that the successes in setting up and consolidating a united popular front will be the greater, the stronger the Communist Parties are numerically, organizationally and ideologically, the more they enjoy the confidence and support of the best and most progressive elements of the working class and the masses. For the Communists are the most resolute and consistent fighters for the realization of the unity of the working class.

At the very dawn of the international Communist movement, Marx and Engels, defining the historical role of the Communists in the ranks of the international proletariat, stated in the Communist Manifesto:

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole...

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

True sons of their class, defenders of their people's interests, free of all ties with and dependence on the bourgeoisie, thoroughly consistent internationalists, the Communists best of all will be able to play the role of a *unifying link* in the ranks of the proletariat, as well as between all anti-fascist parties, organizations and groups of the working people, of the democratic petty bourgeoisie, of the peasants and the intelligentsia in their fight against fascism and war.

Consequently, in order to achieve success in the struggle for unity of the working class, for a united popular front, it is necessary every day and untiringly to work for the strengthening and consolidation of the ranks of the Communist parties and the entire Communist International. This is dictated by the vital interests both of the international proletariat and of all progressive mankind.

May Day, 1937.

G. Dimitrov, *Collected Works*,
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Two years ago, in August 1935, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, in analyzing the international situation and seeking ways and means whereby the working class could carry on the struggle against the offensive of fascism, pointed to the indissoluble connection between the struggle against fascism and the struggle for peace. *Fascism is war*, declared the Congress. Coming to power against the will and interests of its own countrymen, fascism seeks a way out of its growing domestic difficulties in aggression against other countries and peoples, in a new redivision of the globe by unleashing a world war. As far as fascism is concerned, peace is certain ruin. The preservation of international peace renders it possible for the enslaved masses in the fascist countries to gather their forces together and to prepare for the overthrow of the hated fascist dictatorship, and to enable the international proletariat to win time for the establishment of unity in its ranks, to rally together the supporters of peace, and to establish an insurmountable barrier against the outbreak of war.

When the Seventh Congress characterized fascism as the firebrand of war, when it pointed to the growing danger of a new imperialist war and to the need for establishing a powerful united fighting front against fascism, there were very few people even in the labour movement who did not hesitate to accuse us Communists of deliberately ascribing this role to fascism, for purely propagandist purposes and of exaggerating the war danger. Some did this consciously, in the interests of the ruling classes, while others did so out of political shortsightedness. The past two years, however, have provided a sufficiently clear demonstration of the complete absurdity of such accusations. Now both the friends

and foes of peace are openly speaking of the menace of a new world war which has come upon us. And it would be difficult to find serious-minded people who at all doubt that it is precisely the fascist governments that are foremost in the desire for war. In actual fact, war is already raging in a number of countries. For one year now, both the Italian and the German interventionists have been carrying on a war against the Spanish people before the eyes of the whole world. After having accomplished the seizure of Manchuria, the Japanese fascist militarists are now again attacking the Chinese people and are waging a new war in North China.

Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain, North China – these are stages towards the new great robber war of fascism. These are not isolated acts. There exists a bloc of fascist aggressors and warmongers – Berlin, Rome, Tokyo. The German-Japanese 'anti-Comintern' Pact, an agreement which, as is well known, is of a military nature and to which Mussolini has in fact also linked himself, is already being applied in practice. Under the flag of a struggle against the Communist International, against the 'Red menace', the German, Italian and Japanese aggressors are trying by means of partial wars to seize military-strategic positions, key positions on land and naval routes, and sources of raw materials for their war supplies with a view to the further unleashing of an imperialist war.

There is no need to be under any illusions, there is no need to wait for a *formal* declaration of war, to see that war is now on. As far back as March 1936, Comrade Stalin, in his interview with Roy Howard, said:

'War may break out unexpectedly. Nowadays wars are not declared. They simply break out.'

All events of recent years serve as a glaring confirmation of this thesis. Without officially declaring war, Japan started military operations against China and seized Manchuria, Italy attacked the Ethiopian people and seized Ethiopia, and Germany and Italy are waging a war against the Spanish Republic.

It is well known that the people have no desire for war, and that a number of non-fascist states are, in the present

conditions, interested in maintaining peace. On what, then, do the fascist war-makers base their calculations? The entire experience following the robber drive by the Japanese imperialists into Manchuria and by Italian fascism into Ethiopia shows unquestionably that the bandit bloc of the rulers of Germany, Japan and Italy, in order to carry out their military plans in practice, are striving:

first of all to hinder *united action* by the states interested in the maintenance of peace,

secondly, to prevent *unity of action* by the international labour movement, the establishment of a mighty united world front against fascism and war;

thirdly, to carry on *undermining* diversionist and espionage work in the Soviet Union, which is *the foremost bulwark of peace*.

It is on this chiefly that the fascists base their calculations.

And in actual fact the fascist aggressors and war-mongers are working strenuously and jointly in these three directions. They are blackmailing the Western European states by threatening their territorial interests. They are preparing an onslaught on the USSR. They are making extensive use of the appeasement of the ruling circles of Britain, France and the United States. While making proposals for an agreement on the plundering of the small countries, Spain and China, they are striving in every possible way to win the good graces of the British Tories and a number of Liberal and Labour leaders, so as to wean Britain away from France and other democratic countries.

Holding out a similar lure, the fascists are exerting incredible efforts to come to an agreement with the French reactionaries so as to induce France to renounce the Franco-Soviet pact, thus isolating it from the Soviet Union. The fascist states left the League of Nations to get a free hand for their aggression. They terrorize the weak states by threatening attacks from outside, and by organizing conspiracies and rebellions within these countries. The fascist war-mongers make use of traitors, and particularly of the Trotskyites, to carry on disruptive, disorganizing work in the ranks of the labour movement, to disrupt the People's

Front in Spain and France. The recent putsh in Barcelona gave a particularly clear demonstration of how the fascists make use of Trotskyist organizations to stab the People's Front in the back. The fascist firebrands also make splendid use of the work of the opponents of international proletarian unity in the ranks of the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, and assiduously recruit their agents everywhere.

On more than one occasion the Soviet Union has upset the war plans of the fascist aggressors by its consistent and resolute peace policy. It can be asserted without any exaggeration that mankind would long ago have been plunged into the most terrible war in history had not the Soviet Union been insistent and unswerving in carrying through its peace policy, had there been no glorious Red Army in existence.

But while the fascist aggressors meet with necessary rebuffs from the Soviet Union, which is acting in the interests not only of the Soviet people but also of the whole of toiling mankind, this cannot be said of the countries of bourgeois democracy. Here, as is being demonstrated with particular clearness by the examples of Spain and China, we meet with the overt and concealed assistance being given to the fascist bloc by the ruling circles of the most important Western non-fascist states.

Was it not support for the fascist warmongers when the seizure of Manchuria by the Japanese militarists was met with appeasement? Was not the lack of resolute resistance to the bloody campaign of Mussolini against the people of Ethiopia encouragement to the fascist aggressor? Take the entire farce of non-intervention in Spanish affairs, which has already been carried on for a year under the leadership of the British government, and the negotiations going on regarding the recognition of Franco as a 'belligerent' – are they not in fact an encouragement to the war being waged by the fascist states against the Spanish Republic? Is not the present complacent attitude towards the brazen marauders in North China the most scandalous encouragement to the unbridled Japanese militarists, who wish to enslave the great Chinese people? How can the peoples of

Great Britain, France, the United States and the people of other non-fascist countries look on calmly at these things? How can they put up with this systematic appeasement and encouragement of fascist aggression, which facilitates the foul work of the fascist firebrands of a new world war?

In the face of these things, it becomes still clearer how great is the historic responsibility which lies on those circles and leaders of the Socialist Labour International and the International Federation of Trade Unions which are stubbornly resisting the establishment of united action by the international proletariat, of action by its organization on the basis of a united, co-ordinated policy against the fascist warmakers, of the establishment of a mighty international front of peace.

When the Japanese militarists seized Manchuria, there were people claiming to be leading lights in the labour movement who assured the workers in their organizations *that Manchuria was a long way off and the Japanese invasion did not touch on the interests of the international labour movement*. When Mussolini's fascist hordes crushed the Ethiopian people, these functionaries asserted that the events in Ethiopia were a local colonial conflict and that the international proletariat ought not to interfere. When later on the fascist aggressors brazenly attacked the Spanish Republic and started a war within Europe itself, it was only after many months of tormenting vacillations that the leaders of the Second International agreed to a joint conference with the delegation of the Communist International at Annemasse, and yet not for the purpose of actually bringing about united action between the international workers' organizations, but only to recognize the advisability of joint action 'wherever possible.'

Since then the fascist intervention in Spain has been considerably intensified. And now there has been added the new aggression of the Japanese militarists in North China which, according to Japanese plans, is to become a second Manchukuo and the basis for a further amputation of China.

Is it not clear that at this moment, when the Spanish

people are exerting all their efforts to beat off the onslaught of the fascist interventionists, when the Chinese people are rising up against the Japanese militarists who have attacked them, the international workers' organizations should at last unite their efforts and come to the defence of international peace, resolutely and fully prepared for action?

The situation is now developing in such a way that to maintain peace throughout the world means first and foremost to bring about the defeat of the fascist invaders of Spain and China. They must be taught a good lesson, they must be really made to feel that the international proletariat and all progressive and civilized mankind will not tolerate their military aggression and acts of robbery, and are ready to do everything to prevent them from fulfilling their plans of igniting the flames of a new world war.

Can it be that the Socialist Labour International and the International Federation of Trade Unions will rest content now with general wordy declarations and incantations in favour of peace, while in deeds they shun joint action by all organizations of the international labour movement which is so vitally needed? Surely it is clear that joint action by the international workers' organizations in each separate country and on an international scale is alone capable of mobilizing the forces of progressive mankind for a struggle against war, to bar the road to the warmongers, and also to exert pressure on the official policy of the most important non-fascist states so as to curb the fascist aggressors who have thrown off all restraint.

It is impossible to wage a serious struggle for the preservation of world peace unless first and foremost all necessary steps are taken to establish a united front of the working class in each country and united action by the international workers' organizations. It is impossible to carry on a serious fight for peace unless the forces of the labour movement and of the wide masses of the people are mobilized to drive the fascist usurpers out of Spain and China as rapidly as possible.

The balance of the forces of war and the forces of peace is not

what it was in 1914. Major world-historic changes have taken place since that time. The imperialists succeeded in hurling millions of people into the inferno of a world slaughter under circumstances when neither a powerful proletarian state nor its Red Army existed, when there was no Popular Front in France and Spain, when the Chinese people were not in a position to defend their national independence, when the masses of the people had not had the experience of an imperialist war and a great proletarian revolution, when the international working class did not as yet possess such a world organization as the Communist International.

The international labour movement has sufficient forces and means at its disposal to bring about the cessation of the intervention of German and Italian fascism in Spain, the onslaught of the Japanese militarists in China, and to secure international peace.

This, however, requires that the tremendous forces and means at the disposal of the international labour movement be united and directed towards an effective and unyielding struggle against fascism and war.

July 18, 1937.

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(Slightly abridged)

THE COUNTRY OF SOCIALISM AND THE FIGHT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT

I

This year the working class throughout the world is celebrating the 50th anniversary of May Day – the day of international proletarian solidarity.

In 1889 May Day was proclaimed as a day of fraternal solidarity among the workers of all countries, a day of a militant inspection of the proletarian forces, a day of labour's struggle against capital.

Small groups of the working class began to celebrate this day in the different countries. The number of these workers increased with every new year. The workers went on strike and out in the streets, organized demonstrations, strengthening the ties of their international solidarity.

But as time passed *the revolutionary Marxists and the reformists* began to celebrate May Day *in a different way*. The Party of the Bolsheviks, the great Party of Lenin, had proclaimed this day as a day of the revolutionary struggle. It fought to meet the everyday needs of the working class and at the same time prepared it for the future revolutionary struggle against tsarist autocracy and capitalism. In its May Day appeal of 1912 the Party of the Bolsheviks proclaimed throughout Russia, then groaning under the yoke of tsarism:

... And we can say today... that we swear to fight for the complete overthrow of tsarist monarchy, that we hail the advancing Russian revolution, the liberator of Russia!...

Down with capitalism!

Long live socialism!

Nothing could stop the Bolsheviks from introducing the revolutionary spirit in their May Day celebration: neither persecutions on the part of the tsarist police, nor the economic pressure of the capitalists, nor the furious resistance of the Mensheviks, who declared against the revolutionary character of the May Day celebration.

The reformists had an entirely different approach to the May Day celebration. They deprived this day of its revolutionary character. Instead of a day of demonstration of international proletarian solidarity and of a militant inspection of the proletarian forces, they turned May Day into a harmless petty-bourgeois holiday. Here, too, as regards the approach towards the character and contents of May Day, a profound difference of principle arose scores of years ago between the two ways in the international workers' movement – *the way of Bolshevism and the way of reformism*, which consequently led to two entirely different results.

Reformism, which splits the working class, which sows distrust in its forces and its victory, which subjects the workers' movement to the interests of the exploiting classes, enabled the bourgeoisie to save itself in the period of the greatest revolutionary perturbations, to prolong the system of capitalist oppression and pass over to an offensive against the working people. Reformism led the working class and the nations of a number of capitalist countries under the yoke of the barbarous regime of the fascist brigands.

Bolshevism, which united the forces of the working class, mobilized and headed it in an irreconcilable struggle against the exploiters' classes, led to the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, to the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class and to the victory of socialism in the USSR!

In the light of the results of these two different trends in the world workers' movement, the working class and the nations in the capitalist world are being ever more clearly convinced in the *disastrous outcome of the reformist way* and of the policy of acquiescence with the imperialist bourgeoisie, of *defeatism* in the face of the class enemy, and

of the *correctness of the way of Bolshevism*, mapped out by Lenin, the great continuator of Marxism, the leader and teacher of the international proletariat.

On the 50th anniversary of May Day, the working class and the working people of all countries mark with a feeling of pride, admiration and enthusiasm the great historic victory won by the working class, which established a socialist society in one-sixth of the globe. The victory of socialism in the USSR is a proof of the powerful creative energy of the working class. With the example of this great country in the centre of the world it proves the all-conquering power of the proletariat, called to liberate mankind from the oppression of capitalism and to create a free happy, classless, socialist society. The international proletariat considers the victory of socialism in the USSR as its greatest acquisition. This victory is a triumph of international proletarian solidarity, a basis and source of inspiration of the working class in its further struggle. The fraternal international solidarity of the workers throughout the world under the banner of which they celebrate May Day has in the USSR an indestructible material basis.

In the days of the historic Eighteenth Congress of the CPSU (Bolsheviks), the country of socialism stood before all mankind in all the glory of its power, its growing wealth, and the full development of the working people's creative genius. The Soviet people and the working people the world over recorded a great advance in all spheres of industry, agriculture, culture, science and the arts.

The victory of socialism brought the Soviet people a moral and political unity unprecedented in the world. The working class, peasants and intellectuals are rallied in a powerful front, in a united army of builders of communism.

While the capitalist states are rent by the profoundest internal contradictions, in the grip of war, crises and general confusion, the Soviet Union does not know any perturbations, and stands forth as a monolithic, indestructible force. If in the capitalist world there are crises which doom millions of working people to poverty, starvation and degeneration, here in the country of socialism, there is an

unprecedented economic advance bringing general prosperity and a free and happy life to the people. If there, in the capitalist countries, owing to the capitalist structure of society, a cruel class struggle is being waged, here, in the country of socialism, the working class, peasants and intellectuals united in an indestructible union, do not know what class contradictions are.

If in the capitalist world ferocious nationalism is extolled and hatred is cultivated between nations, here in the country of socialism, there is friendship among nations and an unprecedented co-operation among a great number of nations, which is a remarkable expression of internationalism.

If out, in the capitalist world, wars are waged with much bloodshed and if the fascist robbers attack peaceful nations, here in the socialist state, the great Soviet people guard the frontiers of the country of the international proletariat, and defend the cause of peace which is in the interest of the nations. The great Soviet country, as Stalin put it declares that it supports the nations, which are victims of aggression, and are fighting for the independence of their country.

The Eighteenth Congress of the CPSU (Bolsheviks) demonstrated once again before the whole world that no treachery and no intrigues of the enemies would ever succeed in shaking the indestructible power of the country of socialism and the iron solidarity of the entire Soviet people around the party of Lenin. Having brilliantly fulfilled the two-five-year plans, the Soviet people are firmly and persistently implementing the Third Five-Year Plan approved by the Congress. The Party of the Bolsheviks, which won the victory of socialism, mapped out new impressive programmes for implementation. The completion of the construction of the socialist society and the gradual transition from socialism to communism have been set as a practical task of the day. The slogan of communism which means the fulfilment of the great principle 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs', inspires the Soviet people to fight for new victories

and serves as a source of great enthusiasm for the working class and the working people the world over.

The workers of all countries consider the achievements of socialist construction in the USSR as a victory of their cause. They are vitally interested in these achievements and in the further consolidation and development of the socialist state. The fate of the international proletariat and the cause of its liberation is linked with it. In the growth and consolidation of the Soviet Union the working class of the capitalist countries sees a vital source which strengthens its faith in its forces and in its liberation from the oppression of capitalism.

II

The working class in the capitalist countries welcomes the *50th anniversary of May Day* in the conditions of a new imperialist war, in an economic crisis and the aggravated struggle against advancing fascism and the forces of the anti-fascist movement rallying to fight against it.

The imperialist war is raging on three continents for the second year now, sowing death and destruction in the fields of China and Spain, Abyssinia and Albania, in Central Europe and distant Asia. The ruling circles of Great Britain and France which, on the basis of collective security, have the necessary forces and are in a position firmly to resist the fascist aggressors and avert the kindling of a war, have with their policy of non-interference, with their Munich policy, thrown the peoples into the bloody vortex of a war that will annihilate millions of people. In trying to fan the most criminal, counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet war, to instigate the fascist robbers against the country of socialism, the British and French imperialists enabled the fascists to indulge in brigandage in the centre of Europe, to plunder and rob the foreign countries, to enslave the small nations, and insolently to reshape the map of Europe with the aid of brutal force. Encouraged by this policy, the appetites of the fascist aggressors are growing more and more. Having conquered Austria and

Czechoslovakia and dealt a blow to Spain, fascism conquered Memel, and occupied Albania. It is directly threatening Poland. It is stretching out its predatory hand to the Balkan countries, seeking for sources of raw materials and supplies and worming its way to the East. It is exercising pressure on Holland, Switzerland and Belgium, on the Scandinavian countries, intriguing in the Latin American countries. The fascists are building fortresses at the strategic points of the Mediterranean, preparing to seize Gibraltar, the French colonies in Africa, to capture the road to Great Britain's overseas possessions and to lay hands on its colonies.

Encouraged by the same policy of non-interference of the great imperialist states, Japanese militarism in the Far East is waging an aggressive war against the Chinese people.

The new imperialist war launched by the aggressive fascist states, and fanned owing to the criminal negligence of the reactionary bourgeoisie in Great Britain and France, is threatening to turn into a world war.

The policy pursued by the ruling circles of the British and French bourgeoisie – a policy of kindling an imperialist war and of criminal negligence as regards the methods of highway robbery employed by the fascists in the international arena – is indissolubly linked with the pro-fascist reactionary policy pursued in their own countries.

The bourgeoisie in Britain and France saw in the rising anti-fascist movement the force which could neutralize the pro-fascist friends of German and Italian fascism and frustrate their alliance with the fascist aggressors. The successes of the popular front in France, the growing solidarity of the French proletariat, the important successes of the workers' and democratic movement in Great Britain, the USA and the other countries, the heroic struggle of the Spanish people, and the powerful campaign of international anti-fascist solidarity around this struggle, and especially the consolidation of the fraternal international solidarity and the ties between the working class of the capitalist countries and the great Soviet people

– all this aroused great anxiety in the bourgeoisie. That is why the bourgeoisie intensified its offensive against the working class and started a campaign against the social acquisitions of the proletariat and the democratic liberties. It left no stone unturned to foil the unity in the proletarian ranks, the united international campaigns of the working class, the movement of the anti-fascist popular front, and in the first place the popular front in France and Spain.

The reactionary bourgeoisie did everything possible to stifle the Spanish Republic. It did not hesitate to stab the Spanish people in the back, by organizing a counter-revolutionary plot headed by Casado¹⁷ – Besteiro and Miaja¹⁹ in Madrid at the most decisive moment of their fight in defence of their country. There is no crime against the people's peace, freedom and independence, to which the British and French imperialists would not resort in order to reach an agreement with the fascist aggressors, buy off their colonial claims and use them as a police force of world reaction, against the liberating struggle of the international working class and the great country of socialism.

But the British and French reactionaries miscalculated. They unleashed forces which can hardly be stopped.

It becomes clearer to all today that fascist aggression is being directed above all against the West European states. The hopes of the reactionary British and French bourgeoisie to egg on the fascist robbers against the Soviet Union have not been justified so far, not because fascism in general would give up similar plans, but because *the Soviet Union* was too hard a nut to be cracked by *fascist teeth*. Fascism is afraid that it may not only lose its teeth in this venture, but also break its neck, and that is why it prefers to direct its aggression along the lines of least resistance.

The bankruptcy of the Munich policy of appeasement²⁰ is so obvious and conspicuous, that no one, including its makers, dares contest it today. They try to justify their conduct by the fact that treachery, hypocrisy and deception on the part of the fascist partners were an unsuspected surprise for them.

In this way the events following after Munich show all too clear that the Munich Agreement not only failed to bring peace, but was in every way conducive to the further extension of aggression, and so, instead of overcoming the imperialist contradictions, they were further aggravated.

At the same time, the kindling of the new imperialist war, the barbarity of fascism and the criminal policy of non-interference are arousing a new wave of anti-fascist moods and hatred of fascism and its adherents in all countries in the world.

This agitation among the people is expressed in the growing resistance of the masses against the Munich policy, in the growing resistance of the working class against the offensive of bourgeois reaction on the home front, in the parliamentary elections as recently occurred in Holland and Belgium, where the fascists suffered a cruel defeat. The eyes of millions of people, who have been deceived so far, are being opened. The pacifist illusions are being destroyed. The hidden enemies and expert swindlers of the working people are being exposed. The hatred of the masses against them is growing. The masses, indifferent until yesterday, are being involved in active political life and in the struggle. The influence of those who pointed out to the people the disastrous outcome of the Munich policy is growing.

Only the fascist agents and the swindlers of the working class can spread false legends about the 'omnipotence' of fascism and only the frightened defeatists and political cowards can believe in such legends. The fierce jugglery of the fascist rulers, their infinite insolence and barbarous outrages are far from being proof of the soundness of fascism's internal forces. The bourgeoisie resorted to fascism not out of excess of forces, but because it was aware that its domination was shattered. Faced by economic perturbations and the growing storm of indignation of the working people, the bourgeoisie passed over to the regime of fascist dictatorship with the intention of solving the internal and external contradictions of capitalism.

But what happened in actual fact?

Fascism boasted that it would do away with anarchy in the capitalist economy and with its crises. But this proved beyond its capacities. It succeeded by way of the cruelest exploitation and robbery of the masses to increase the profits of the big capitalist sharks. But anarchy is still corroding the capitalist economy. The trumped up 'planned' economy, which the fascists announced simply boiled down to reducing the country's economy to the rails of a military economy. This, however, cannot eliminate the rising economic crisis, but on the contrary, it is paving the way for a still deeper and more destructive crisis. The economic difficulties of the fascist countries are growing from day to day before the eyes of all.

The fascists talked as demagogues of wiping out class contradictions and establishing a 'community of the interests of the whole people.' But just the opposite happened. In its efforts to do away with the class struggle by means of cruel terror, fascism is stifling the dissatisfaction of the masses, thus further aggravating the class contradictions. Instead of 'unity of labour and capital' there is an increase of class antagonism. Not a single country has such a deep chasm between the exploiters and exploited as in the fascist countries. Fascism destroyed the legal workers' organizations, but instead underground one sprang up. In trying to shatter and crush the ranks of the working class by force, against its will it has driven the workers to join their forces in a united proletarian front. By robbing and suppressing the peasants and the petty town bourgeoisie, fascism is driving these strata towards union with the proletariat towards establishing an anti-fascist popular front.

In the fascist regime the bourgeoisie saw a factor for eradicating the communist movement and eliminating the danger of revolution. The admissions of the fascist rulers, however, and the mobilization of the whole state apparatus against 'the communist danger' and the movement of the popular front prove that the revolutionary forces are growing steadily, that the working class has not ceased its struggle and that the sympathies of the working people for communism are now stronger than ever before.

Fascism established big armies for aggressive wars, but hundreds of thousands of armed people who are also to be found in them are full of hatred for fascism. Its own rear is a terrible menace in case of military clashes.

Owing to the criminal negligence of the reactionary bourgeoisie in Great Britain and France, fascism succeeded in occupying foreign territories, thus setting against it new millions of the peoples it had enslaved, and considerably increasing the army of its deadly enemies.

All this is an eloquent proof that behind the outer facade of fascist dictatorship, far-reaching processes of a great revolutionary force are coming to a head. All this proves the fragility and weakness of the fascist regime. The soil is burning under the feet of the fascist brigands, a volcano is smouldering, the hot lava of which will sweep away the fascist dictatorship and then capitalism itself.

III

But fascism will not fall by itself. It will not cease fanning the war. The reactionary bourgeoisie will not change its policy voluntarily. The way of fascism can only be barred, the war can only be warded off, and reaction can only be checked by the resolute struggle of the millions of the working class and working people.

Why are the fascist aggressors still advancing and committing outrages?

Because fascist aggression and the fanning of the imperialist war, now in progress owing to the criminal negligence of the ruling circles of the bourgeois democratic countries, have not yet encountered a strong enough resistance on the part of the masses. And this resistance is lacking because the working class of the capitalist countries has not succeeded in overcoming the split in its ranks, in building a united front and drawing its allies — the peasants and working people from the town to its side.

The Communist International has pointed out many

times that the lack of unity of action among the international working class is due to the fact that the reactionary leaders of the socialist parties and of the trade unions systematically spread superstitions about the soundness of the bourgeois system, about the impossibility of a successful struggle against the fascist aggressors, and sow distrust among the forces of the working class, wrecking and defeating the unity of the proletarian ranks under different pretexts. As they are indissolubly linked with the ruling classes in their countries, these reactionary leaders are not less afraid than they are of the victory of the working class, and march hand in hand with the bourgeoisie on all the main issues of international and domestic policy.

They play skilfully on the pacific moods of the masses, as well as with the legalist illusions that have sprung up in the course of many decades. They take advantage of the workers' devotion to their old organizations, threatening to split them if a united front with the communists is established.

The May Day appeal of the Second International is a striking demonstration of the splitting, defeatist policy of these leaders.

At a time when the fire of imperialist war is threatening to spread to the whole world, when fascism is preparing new attacks, new conquests, new crimes, when reaction is everywhere raising its head against the working class, the appeal of the Second International passes over in silence the question of the necessity of uniting the forces of the working class in their struggle against fascism and war.

There is not a single word in this appeal about the great achievements of the working class in all countries, about the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union. But from the appeal of the Second International the startled reader will learn about the successes of socialism... in New Zealand and the Scandinavian countries. The all-fated authors of the appeal think that with this 'Scandinavian socialism', intended to make the hens laugh, they will be able to undermine the respect of the millions of workers throughout

the world towards the great country of socialism. Wretched, ridiculous people!

The working people rightly ask: *what kind of socialists are they*, if they declare themselves against genuine socialism?

What kind of functionaries of the workers' movement are they, if they not only fail to point out the USSR as an example of the great creative force and the victory of the working class, but persistently endeavour by hook or by crook, to undermine the significance of this victory in the eyes of the workers of all countries?

What kind of champions of peace, what kind of defenders are they of the interests of the people who are threatened by fascist aggression, when their actions against the Soviet Union, their wrecking of the unity of action of the working class help the fascists and their assistants in the imperialist cliques in other countries to kindle a new world war?

We communists know that the forces of the supporters of working class unity of action are growing and growing stronger in the world workers' movement, that ever wider circles of workers raise powerful voices in support of this unity.

We know also that inside the Second International far-reaching processes of differentiation are taking place, that every day the numbers of those functionaries within the ranks of the social democrats and the trade unions who express the will of the workers is increasing and that they are ever more decisively putting forward the question of establishing a united front with the communist parties.

While the executive committee of the Labour Party expels Cripps for his campaign in favour of the popular front, many members and even a number of organizations in this party and the trade unions declare themselves against the decision of the executive committee and support Cripps.

While in France the Munich group of Paul Faure in the Socialist Party defeats the united front in every possible way, the majority of the members of the same party take an ever more decisive stand in favour of the united front with

the communists and of the united popular front. Such facts are no longer isolated. Their number is constantly growing.

We are firmly convinced that the day is not far away when under the pressure of the millions of masses of the working class this united front will become an accomplished fact.

There is no power that can check this inevitable historical process. It is inevitably dictated by the entire trend of events, and first of all by the necessity of fighting against the predatory war fanned by the fascist aggressors.

Proceeding from this, the Communist International is once again turning to the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions with a proposal to establish unity of action.

In its May Day appeal the executive committee of the Communist International says:

In expressing the will of the working class of all countries, the Communist International proposes to the Executive Committee of the Socialist²¹ and Trade Union International²² to start negotiations at once with a view to establishing a united front to fight against the instigators and fomentors of war. It proposes to the Socialist International the following platform for united action: defence of peace on the basis of a decisive fight against the fascist aggressors, organization of collective security, a fight in every separate capitalist country against the treacherous policy of the reactionary bourgeoisie, that is seeking a compromise with the fascist aggressors at the expense of the freedom and independence of its own people. The Communist International proposes that a conference of the workers' organizations of the whole world be called to draw up a concrete plan of action, ways and means of carrying on the fight and of setting up a common organ to coordinate their joint actions.

Whoever actually defends the interests of the working class, who actually sees in blood-thirsty fascism an enemy of all working people, who does not want to see the globe turned into a bloody battlefield for the sake of bourgeois interests, cannot reject the proposal of the Communist International.

Communists, progressive workers and all supporters of the united front will make of this proposal of the Communist Inter-

national the starting points of a powerful campaign in favour of united action and an extensive mobilization of the masses to fight against fascism and war.

The organizational, ideological and political stabilization of the communist parties themselves is first and foremost a decisive condition for the successful implementation of the tasks facing the working class in the capitalist countries.

Since the time of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International²³, the Communist Parties in a number of capitalist countries, after overcoming sectarianism in their ranks and stubbornly pursuing the tactics of a united front, have moved substantially forward, increasing their influence on the masses, and becoming a serious political factor in the life of their country and in the life of their people. But it is one of our shortcomings that the communists do not always consolidate their organizations and their ideological and political influence. It is also a shortcoming that the Marxist-Leninist education of the cadres of the Communist Parties and of the workers' movement shows a lag. This lag is favourable soil for the penetration of hostile influences into the ranks of the communist parties, for all kinds of opportunist distortions to make their way into the policy and tactics of the parties, distortions which are exceedingly harmful particularly under the rapidly changing conditions and the sharp about-turns taking place in world events.

For the communist parties, the fighting vanguard of the working class, it is as necessary as bread, air and water constantly to study Marxism-Leninism, the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin. We should as soon as possible put an end to the negligent attitude towards theory, to the tendency towards empiricism.

Every communist, every progressive worker, every honest functionary of the workers' movement should clearly realize that the fundamental condition for the fulfilment of the historic tasks of the working class is, above all, the acquisition and the practical application of Marxist-Leninist theory by the vanguard of this class, the arming of

the fighters of the world workers' anti-fascist movement with the powerful victorious weapon of the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

May 1, 1939

*From Let Us Fight for a United Front against Fascism and War
Gospolitizdat, 1939*

Signed: G. Dimitrov

(Slightly abridged).

G. Dimitrov. Works. Vol. 11, pp. 1-20

Published by the BCP, 1954

ADDRESS TO THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS – SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS

I warmly thank you for your friendly invitation to attend the Second Congress of the Student Union. Since I am not in a position to accept it, because of reasons which you will understand, I convey my cordial greetings to the students – socialists and communists.

The struggle of the students – socialists and communists, united like brothers against barbarity and obscurantism, against aggressive war, against fascism – the worst enemy of freedom, culture and science – is not only indispensable for the students in general, but is also of great significance from the viewpoint of putting an end to the split in the workers' movement and for uniting all anti-fascist forces in Europe and in the world.

The progressive students will fulfil more successfully their role of fighters for the freedom of the oppressed or threatened nations, their role of ardent fighters for peace among nations, the more soundly they are bound to the people, and in the first place to the working class, the better they are armed with the most powerful theory of our day – Marxism, the great science of Marx-Engels-Lenin, linking their own teaching and knowledge with a firm will and a militant spirit, ready for any sacrifices for the triumph of the great ideal of mankind – socialism, which has won a victory over one-sixth of the world, in the Soviet Union.

I wish your Congress the greatest success – for the cause of freedom, science, culture and peace, for the cause of socialism.

G. Dimitrov

La correspondance internationale
No. 38, July 22, 1939

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 11, pp 23-24
Moscow, the PCP, 1954

ON THE OCCASION OF THE SEVENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE

Seventy years ago, on March 18, 1871, France and Europe were shaken by the militant slogan of the revolutionary masses in Paris: 'Long live the Commune!'

For over two months the Paris proletarians fought with unreserved heroism and self-sacrifice against the numerous home and foreign enemies for the sacred cause of the Paris Commune. With their blood the Paris Communards wrote down one of the most glorious and remarkable pages in the history of the working class's liberating struggle.

The Paris Commune was the first serious attempt of the working class to win political power for itself, to form its own government and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Paris Commune was the embryo of a new type of state, a proletarian state, a forerunner of the Soviets.

The Paris Commune expressed the interests and most cherished aspirations of the international proletariat and became the banner of proletarian internationalism.

The Paris Commune was the flesh and blood of the masses, the result of their creative initiative and of their revolutionary enthusiasm.

The Paris Commune was a tremendous outburst of indignation against the treachery of the French bourgeoisie in the war 1870-1871, against the plot of the bourgeoisie to overthrow the republic and restore the monarchy. It was a direct result of the attempts of the reactionary bourgeois and big landowners to disarm the Paris workers, to crush the French people and make them bear the brunt of the reckless war²⁴, lost by Louis Buonaparte, and to pay heavy military contributions.

'The Paris proletarians,' wrote the Central Committee of the reorganized national guard in a manifesto of May 18, 'seeing the evil-doings and treachery of the ruling classes have realized that the time has come for them to save the situation, taking into their own hands the administration of public works... They have realized that this is their duty, that it is their undisputed right to become masters of their own destiny and to take the government in their own hands.'

The founders of scientific communism, Marx and Engels, engaging in extensive activity in defence of the Commune and rendering all-round aid to the Paris Communards after the bloody suppression of the Paris Commune, highly appraised its significance for world history. Elucidating the weaknesses and errors of the Commune, Marx and Engels emphatically stressed its *positive* results. The Commune was in fact a *government of the working class*, it was a political form under which the economic liberation of labour could be effected. In April 1871 Marx wrote:

The struggle of the working class against the class of the capitalists and against the state representing its interests, entered into a new stage thanks to the Paris Commune. Whatever end the struggle will have this time a new starting point of world historical importance has nevertheless been won.

In the experience of the Paris Commune Marx found a concrete practical solution of the problem he had theoretically put forward, i.e. what would the proletarian revolution put in the place of the bourgeois state machinery, what should be the new type of state system during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. The Commune proved that the working class cannot directly take possession of the existing state machinery and put it into operation for its own purpose, but must establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. The Commune was a revolution not against one form of state power on another, for the purpose of transferring this power from the hands of one part of the ruling classes to the hands of another. The Commune was a revolution which tried to shatter the state machinery of bourgeois class domination.

'And that is why,' Marx wrote, 'Whatever its destiny (the destiny of the Commune - G. D.) in Paris, it will spread *throughout the world*. The working class in Europe and the United States at once welcomed it as a magic watchword of liberation.'

After Marx's death Engels had to wage a fierce fight against the opportunists who tried together with the bourgeoisie to underrate the significance of the Paris Commune and its great lessons and to divert the proletariat from its revolutionary road. In 1891, on the 20th anniversary of the Paris Commune, Engels wrote:

The Social Democratic philistines have of late begun to experience deadly fear of the words: *dictatorship of the proletariat*. Do you want to know, dear Sirs, how this dictatorship looks? Look at the Paris Commune. That was a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The talented continuator of the work of Marx and Engels, the greatest thinker and revolutionary of our time -

Lenin, not only attached great importance to the Paris Commune, but also brilliantly availed himself of its experience. Vitally interested in the whole revolutionary movement of the exploited and oppressed in all countries, he made a profound study of that movement. Lenin always endeavoured and was always able to draw the necessary lessons from the revolutionary movement, so as the better to arm the Russian and international proletariat ideologically, politically and organizationally.

In 1908 Lenin wrote:

The Commune taught the European proletariat concretely to set the tasks of the socialist revolution.*

In April 1911 Lenin emphasized:

* V.I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 13 1951, p. 491, Bulgarian edition

As a front-rank fighter for the social revolution, the Commune won sympathies wherever the proletariat suffered and fought. The picture of its life and death, the aspect of the workers' government which took and held in its hands the capital of the world for more than two months, the heroic struggle of the proletariat and its sufferings after the defeat – all this raised the spirits of millions of workers, awoke their hopes and attracted their sympathies to the side of socialism.*

While still in Zurich, on March 24, 1917, Lenin wrote:

Marching along the road indicated by the experience of the Paris Commune in 1871 and of the Russian Revolution in 1905, the proletariat has to organize and arm *all* poor, exploited parts of the population, so that they themselves shall immediately take into their own hands the state power and shall *themselves form* the institutions of that power.**

In the middle of April 1917, Lenin pointed out:

The real essence of the Commune is not where the bourgeoisie usually looks for it, but in the setting up of a peculiar type of *state*. Such a state in Russia has *already* come into being, it is the Soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies.***

A prerequisite for the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution was its dress rehearsal – the revolution of 1905. A decisive condition for this victory, however, was the fact that the proletariat was led by the militant and consistently revolutionary party of the Bolsheviks, *the main thing* which was lacking in the Paris Commune. In critically studying and availing himself of all the lessons to be drawn from the history of the proletarian struggle in all countries and from the experience of the Paris Commune and the Soviets in 1905, in the first place, Lenin prepared the Russian proletariat for the October Revolution. Under the leadership of Lenin's glorious party, in an exceedingly brief period of history, by means of its tireless fight against

* V.I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 17, 1953, pp. 132-133, Bulgarian edition.

** V.I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 23, 1953, p. 353, Bulgarian edition.

*** V.I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 24, 1953, p. 35, Bulgarian edition.

its enemies and its greatest creative enthusiasm, the triumphant proletariat succeeded in overcoming the tremendous difficulties, in doing away with the exploiter classes, in building up socialist society and embarking on the road to a transition toward communism, a higher stage of this society.

What the brightest and most far-seeing minds of mankind were thinking about, which inspired the fighters of the Paris Commune, what hundreds of millions of working people are thinking and dreaming of – a society without exploitation and oppression of man by man, without oppression of one nation by another nation – has been achieved in the great country of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

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France is living through hard times at present. The French working people are experiencing indescribable disasters. In September 1870 the bourgeois 'Government of National Defence', after usurping political power, made use of all its levers and all means, even the organization of 'national treachery', to oppress the French people. In September 1939 the bourgeois rulers of France and its masters forced the French people into a war after first depriving them of all liberties and paralyzing their will. Owing to the greed, mercenary nature, stupidity and corruption of the ruling classes, who put their class privileges and reactionary schemes above everything else, this war led to defeat and disaster. And today and now, making use of the defeat, the successors of the people of Versailles are endeavouring to make the French people bear the brunt of the war, pay for the defeat, pay the occupation expenses and suffer the consequences of the bankrupt bourgeois regime. The rulers of France, like their Versailles predecessors, are trying to provoke the French proletariat, carry on a rabid chauvinist and anti-semitic campaign, organize shameful witch hunts of the communists – the true representatives and fighters of the French people for

social and national liberation. But the French people have gone through a great many things, they have learned much and what is most important, they have begun to understand who are their true friends and who are their enemies. The French Communist Party is a worthy successor and continuator of the work of the Communards, which has learned their lessons and avoids their mistakes; it takes advantage of the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution and masters the teaching of Marxism and Leninism. In this party the French proletariat will find that force and that leader which will guarantee certain success to it in its struggle for freedom and socialism. This success is possible thanks to the help of the international solidarity of the working people. The French proletarians remember that the banner of internationalism was the banner of the Paris Communards. The decrees of the Commune, all its activity, the men of whom it was composed, its very existence, its slogans – all was imbued with the spirit of internationalism.

The Commune is immortal. 'The Commune which they thought was killed, the International which they thought was forever destroyed – they are in front of us, living and twenty times stronger than in 1871,' that is what Engels said in 1892 on the 21st anniversary of the Paris Commune. Today we are a hundred times more justified in saying:

The Commune is alive!

The Soviet power, which conquered 23 years ago, is a mighty socialist state with a population of almost 200 million. This *Commune* is a tremendous political, economic, military, cultural and moral force. It is a great mainstay of the working people of the whole world in their fight for freedom, peace and friendship among nations, for socialism. Millions of proletarians, peasants and working people in the capitalist countries, as well as the people in the colonies cherish the warmest sympathies for this wonderful Commune – the country of Soviets. They look with the greatest hope on the great state of triumphant socialism – the homeland of the working people of all countries.

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It was not by chance that the International Auxiliary Organization for Assistance to Revolutionary Fighters chose March 18 for its holiday. There is a deep sense, a whole programme and a big obligation in this choice, because the International Auxiliary Organization is not an ordinary organization for humanistic and philanthropic help, but an organization for active international solidarity of the proletariat, an organization to assist the working class in its struggle against the bourgeois system of exploitation, oppression, terror and predatory imperialist wars. The Auxiliary Organization is an organization whose aim is to assist the fighters of the working class, those who are pining away in prisons and concentration camps and are prisoners of capitalism. We should never forget that the founders of scientific communism – Marx and Engels – were also at the same time tireless organizers of the *practical* material and moral assistance rendered to the Communards, organizers in all countries of the assistance rendered to the revolutionary fighters. Marx and Engels were, if I may put it so, *the first great members of the Auxiliary Organization*.

In celebrating on March 18 the great memory of the Paris Communards, our glorious revolutionary predecessors, we pledge our staunch bolshevik word:

still more persistently to educate the masses in a spirit of international proletarian solidarity:

to hold still more strongly and still higher aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism, the living incarnation of which is invincible Soviet patriotism;

tirelessly to close the ranks of the working people's fighters in all countries for the complete triumph of the immortal cause of the Paris Commune, of the great cause of Marx-Engels-Lenin throughout the world.

A pamphlet

Gospolitizdat, 1941

Signed: G. Dimitrov

Kommunisticheskiy International.

Vol. 3, March, 1941

(Slightly abridged)

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 11, pp. 94-102

Published by the BCP, 1954

THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY OF SAVING OUR PEOPLE

In declaring war on the United States and Great Britain²⁵ the government of Tsar Boris has once again revealed its role as lackey of bloodthirsty Hitler and its treacherous policy to the interest and future of our nation.

Obviously Bulgaria's war on the United States and Great Britain has no and cannot have any practical importance insofar as the course of military operations in the Pacific Ocean is concerned. But this adventurous act of the Tsar Boris government is of prime practical importance as regards the status and future of Bulgaria. By this act she is definitely involved in the criminal predatory war of Hitler and is turned into a tool of his rapacious plans.

The inevitable defeat of nazi Germany at the hands of the mighty anti-nazi coalition will drag Bulgaria into the abyss as well.

The declaration of war on the United States and Great Britain has a still more immediate importance. After realising the extreme hazard of sending our army against the Soviet Union, Hitler and his Bulgarian agents are now trying to use indirectly the Bulgarian army as a belligerent for nazi Germany's ends. The rout of the Germans in the South and the utter fiasco of their plans to attack the Caucasus through Rostov incite Hitler to seek other ways.

Our people are faced by the direct peril of shedding the blood of hundreds of thousands of their sons for alien ends – those of the nazi gang, which plunders and strangles its own country as it does with tens of other countries, temporarily conquered by it.

Bulgaria's existence as an independent nation is at stake.

There is only one way of saving our people from ruin and our country from disaster – that is the nation-wide

movement of the army and people against the treacherous policy of our rulers who have sold out to Hitler.

No forces or means should be spared to prevent the nazi gangs from freely disposing of Bulgaria, with her territory, foods resources and armed forces.

The pursuit of a really national, Bulgarian policy directed towards freeing the country from the German invaders and their Bulgarian Quislings, must be achieved at the cost of any efforts and sacrifices.

December 15, 1941

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol 11, pp. 105-106

Hristo Botev Broadcasting Station Speaking
Vol. 1, pp. 347-348

THE FATHERLAND FRONT PROGRAMME

The anti-popular policy of the Government of Tsar Boris represents a veritable national peril. Today Bulgaria is actually being turned into a vassal of Hitler, and the Bulgarian people – into slaves of the German imperialists.

In view of the inevitable disaster to which Hitler's maniacal plan for world domination is doomed, any prolongation of this treacherous policy means to consciously push the Bulgarian people into the abyss and to make them lose their national independence.

The supreme duty of the Bulgarian people, of their army and patriotic intelligentsia at the present historical moment is to close their ranks in a mighty Fatherland Front for the salvation of Bulgaria.

The Fatherland Front sets itself the following urgent tasks:

1. To prevent Bulgaria from being dragged into the criminal nazi war, which would be disastrous for the Bulgarian people.

2. To withdraw at once the Bulgarian troops, sent to suppress the struggle of the fraternal Serbian people against the German and Italian yoke.

3. To tear up Bulgaria's alliance with nazi Germany and with the other axis countries, to free Bulgarian soil from the German fascist armies and the Gestapo bandits.

4. To stop the export of foods and raw materials to Germany and the other axis countries. To ensure the subsistence of the people and army and to supply the population with prime necessities at accessible prices.

5. To secure, in accordance with the Atlantic Charter²⁶ the national interests of the Bulgarian people by

agreements with the other Balkan nations and by close friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States and the other peace-loving nations.

6. To set free at once all civil and military persons, persecuted for their struggle against fascism and nazi Germany.

7. To restore the political rights of the people, especially the freedom of the press, meetings and associations; to abolish all anti-constitutional, anti-people's and fascist laws.

8. To wrest the army from the hands of the monarcho-fascist clique and to take decisive measures so as to prevent its being used for anti-popular ends. To secure the rights of officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers as full-fledged citizens.

9. To disband the fascist organizations of the Brannik, Union of Ratnik and Legion type.

To render harmless the fascist cut-throats and criminals and to see to it that they are justly punished.

10. To preserve the nation's wealth and the people's labour from alien encroachments and to create conditions for the proper economic development of Bulgaria as a free and independent country.

11. To ensure the urban and rural population a livelihood, work, income and a human existence.

12. To root out fascist obscurantism, race hatred and the abasement of the national honour of our people.

The implementation of these tasks, so vital for our people, make it imperative to create, as soon as possible, a truly national government, capable of carrying out the salutary policy of the Fatherland Front firmly and steadfastly. The Fatherland Front sets itself therefore as the first object of its struggle the overthrow of the present treacherous anti-people's fascist government and the formation of a genuinely Bulgarian national government.

Relying upon the will and support of the whole Bulgarian people, this government will also pave the way for the convocation of the Grand National Assembly, which will fix Bulgaria's future form of government and

will create the necessary constitutional and material guarantees for the freedom, independence and prosperity of our country.

July 17, 1942

Hristo Botev Broadcasting Station Speaking
Vol. 3, pp. 12-14

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 11, pp. 108-110

WHITHER BULGARIA?

The sudden death of Tsar Boris aroused keen interest among world public opinion in Bulgaria's political position and her role in the present war. This is quite comprehensible, inasmuch as Bulgaria, though small in size and population, occupies an important place in the Balkans, holds favourable military and strategical positions and disposes of a fresh army 459,000 strong which has not yet taken an active part in the war. It should be remembered that just now Germany is exerting the strongest pressure on Bulgaria to involve her into active military operations.

Whither Bulgaria? What will be her policy after the death of Tsar Boris, who headed and united the Bulgarian pro-German circles? Will the Bulgarian people allow a continuance of the pro-German policy which has already landed the country in a blind alley and brought it to the brink of the abyss? Will Germany succeed in retaining Bulgaria in her predatory hands and in using her territory, army, communications, food and raw material resources? These questions now preoccupy all sincere friends of the Bulgarian people.

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Two historical facts deeply connected the people of Bulgaria and Russia. First, Bulgaria won her national liberation thanks to the Russian people. This fact engendered among the Bulgarian people deep traditions of gratitude and love towards the Russian people. Second, the Bulgarian and Russian peoples are united by a common Slav destiny in the struggle against the Teutonic drive to assimilate the Slavs. Slav kinship, linguistic and cultural

affinities and common interest in the struggle against the German peril, created and cemented unbreakable bonds of friendship between Bulgarians and Russians. All leading figures of the Bulgarian national-liberation movement during the 19th century were fervent and convinced champions of Russo-Bulgarian brotherhood. Especially after Bulgaria's liberation by the Russian army, the Bulgarian people began to see in the fraternal Russian people their liberator and great supporter of their national existence. Is it necessary to prove that after the Russian people overthrew tsarism and took their destiny into their own hands, extremely favourable conditions were created for the blossoming of the warmest friendship between the two Slav peoples?

German imperialism, striving by hook or by crook to push its way to the Orient across the Balkans, opposed this natural and nation-wide attachment of the Bulgarians to the Russian people. The penetration of German imperialism into the Balkans is closely connected with the formation of a German agency in Bulgaria, which united the most reactionary, greedy and venal elements. In the course of three decades this German agency has pursued an anti-Bulgarian policy, which resulted in a national disaster during the Balkan Wars (1912-13) and in an even worse disaster in 1918, following Bulgaria's siding with Germany in World War I.

More than 150,000 killed, hundreds of thousands of invalids, widows and orphans, many hundreds of thousands of refugees, reparations to the tune of 2,500 million gold leva, loss of Bulgarian territories, plundering of the country which was brought to a state of economic ruin – this was the price the Bulgarian people had to pay for their participation in World War I on the side of imperial Germany. The national interests of the Bulgarian people were dealt an extremely heavy blow.

Tsar Ferdinand paid for this policy with his crown and fled to Germany, where his masters granted him a pension, which he continues to get to the present day. Ferdinand was gone, but the situation did not change. In 1918 the Bulgarian people were unable to do away, once and for

ever, with the German agency. The new Tsar Boris, son of Ferdinand, continued to the German policy of his father. This is one of the main causes why after a quarter of a century, Bulgaria, whose people had paid dearly for the alliance with the Germans, found herself again in the German camp and now faces the deadly peril of being plunged into a third national disaster, still more ruinous for her independence and future.

After ascending the throne, and relying upon the most reactionary elements in the country and in the army, Tsar Boris staged a coup d'état (June 9, 1923), overthrew the constitutional Stamboliiski Government, established a fascist regime in the country and pursued a policy of completely subjecting Bulgaria to the interests of Germany's imperialist policy. Bulgaria joined the Axis camp and became a vassal of Hitler – this was the result of the policy of the reactionary ruling circles in Bulgaria.

Hitler's agents in Bulgaria are now assiduously spreading the myth that in March 1941 when, behind the back of the Bulgarian people and despite their will, they let the German troops enter the country, Bulgaria had no other choice; that she had to go with Germany, because only thus could peace be preserved for Bulgaria and the Balkans. But this is a downright lie. And this lie was exposed immediately in the note of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the USSR of March 3, 1941²⁷. As regards the Bulgarian Government's statement that it agreed to let German troops enter Bulgaria for the purpose of safeguarding peace in the Balkans, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs declared:

1. The Soviet Government do not share the opinion of the Bulgarian Government as to the correctness of the latter's position on the given question, because this position, despite the will of the Bulgarian Government, does not lead to a consolidation of peace, but to an extension of the sphere of war and to Bulgaria's involvement in it;
2. True to their policy of peace, the Soviet Government cannot offer, under these circumstances, any support to the present policy of the Bulgarian Government.

There is no doubt that on the eve of the German invasion of the Balkans there existed a real possibility of

safeguarding peace in that part of Europe and with it the vital interests of Bulgaria, had the Bulgarian Government paid heed to this clear warning of the Soviet Government.

What was the situation in March 1941, when the German troops invaded Bulgaria and occupied her territory? The people of Yugoslavia were ready to defend themselves against the Germans. The Greek army was beating the Italians on Albanian territory. Relying on her army and on the unanimous will of the whole people, Bulgaria could have preserved her neutrality at that time. Did not the country's national interests dictate that neutrality should be preserved? Did not the Bulgarian people insist then on a pact of friendship with the Soviet Union as a major guarantee of Bulgaria's independence and peace in the Balkans?²⁸ But Bulgaria's rulers rejected this demand of the people by tying Bulgaria to the Axis bandwagon and Greece in the back, thus enabling the Nazi hordes to crush the Yugoslav and Greek forces²⁹. All subsequent events showed that the Bulgarian rulers precisely helped to extend the sphere of war in the Balkans and to drag Bulgaria into it.

The history of the Balkan peoples irrefutably proves that Bulgaria's national independence and prosperity are possible only in closest friendship with the neighbouring Slav nations. That is why Bulgaria's becoming a tool of Germany against the Soviet Union and the betrayal of Yugoslavia, the Slav brothers of the Bulgarian people in the Balkans – the Macedonians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats and Slovenes – was a major crime. In handing over Bulgaria to the Nazi bandits, the Bulgarian ruling circles dealt the heaviest blow to her national interests.

As a result of this policy, Bulgaria became a bridgehead of Nazi Germany in the war against the Soviet Union. Bourgas, Varna, Balchik and a number of other towns on the Black Sea coast, as well as the port of Roussé on the Danube, are now in German hands and accommodate German submarines and men-of-war. What is more, the Germans use the Bulgarian navy to transport troops and munitions against the Soviet Union. The main railway

lines in the country are actually in German hands and transport German war materials. The Germans dispose of many airfields and military depots on Bulgarian soil. All Bulgarian airports are controlled by German military authorities. The German Command is converting Bulgarian territory into an arena of Nazi war, building military fortifications and strategic roads.

Today Bulgaria is subjected to German plunder on a much vaster scale than in World War I. The Government exports wholesale Bulgarian grain and farm produce to Germany through the Hranoiznos State Establishment. The export of foods and raw materials to Germany already exceeds the huge sum of 20,000 million leva. This debt of Germany to the Bulgarian National Bank will never be paid off. Bulgarian peasants are plundered not only in this way. Bulgaria is obliged to maintain at her expense German garrisons, military hospitals, many German agents and representatives, families of German military and civil personnel. The hungry German pack buys foodstuffs for a song and continuously sends them home in parcels.

Bulgaria's economy has become an appendage of Germany. More than 63 per cent of the foreign capitals invested in Bulgaria belong to Germans. The whole economic policy of the present Bulgarian ruling circles serves German ends. This means the closing down of enterprises not needed by the Germans and adapting Bulgarian farming to the needs of German industry, i.e. producing raw materials and semifinished goods for Germany. This means liquidating Bulgaria's independent industrial development and turning her into a colony of Germany, which inevitably leads to the total national enslavement of the Bulgarian people.

At the demand of Hitler, in December 1941, small Bulgaria declared war on two World Powers – Great Britain and the United States. If Bulgaria did not send troops to the Soviet-German front, it was due to the people's and army's strong opposition to such a crime. But Bulgaria is now playing the role of Hitler's policeman in the Balkans. Bulgarian troops are stationed in Yugoslavia and Greece as forces of occupation. Bulgarian divisions, which in the

Balkans replaced the German divisions sent to the Soviet-German front, were put by Tsar Boris at the disposal of the Germans.

And the present rulers of this vassal and policeman of Hitler in the Balkans now claim that Bulgaria 'realizes her national ideals.' They console the Bulgarian people with the would-be return of Thrace and Macedonia. But, in 'regaining' Thrace and Macedonia, Bulgaria lost her own national independence. German commanders not only administer Thrace and Macedonia but also lord it over Bulgaria as if she were their fief. On a geographical map, published by Goebbels in Berlin, 'Bulgarian' Macedonia and Thrace figure as German provinces, under provisional Bulgarian administration. The growing rebellion in Macedonia and Thrace shows that the population of these regions hates not only the Nazi invaders but their Bulgarian partners as well.

Tsar Boris based his plans on a rapid and easy victory of Hitler. But these plans of his came to grief. As the days passed, it became increasingly clear that Germany was losing the war, that he, Tsar Boris, had brought the country to the brink of disaster. The bankrupt monarch felt the growing people's hatred. Seeking a way out of his dilemma, he began to manoeuvre, sowing around himself still greater uncertainty and panic. In Berlin they kept a sharp eye on these vacillations of the Bulgarian monarch. Obviously, Berlin had a finger in the 'sudden' death of this absolutely healthy man who stood in the prime of life and was an excellent hiker.

In virtue of the Bulgarian Constitution, the Filov Government proclaimed Simeon, the six-year-old son of Boris, tsar of Bulgaria. But Bulgaria's rulers made use of the Constitution only insofar as it suited their ends. They had no intention whatever of fulfilling another stipulation of the Constitution which provides for the convocation of the Grand National Assembly to elect a Council of Regents. The reason is quite obvious. Bulgaria's rulers are afraid of the slightest expression of the people's will. Together with the German Gauleiters, they resort to

every means to continue the pro-German policy, which the people resent so much.

The death of Tsar Boris proved a most suitable pretext for a new flagrant interference of Germany in the affairs of Bulgaria. It was no accident that the German delegation, which arrived in Sofia for the funeral of Tsar Boris, was composed of Grossadmiral Raeder, Field Marshal Keitel, Colonel General Lindemann, Admiral Fricke, Colonel General of the Airforce Leer, SS General Wünnenberg, Baron von Steengracht of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Count Schulenburg, former German Ambassador to Moscow. They helped to form a Council of Regents, which would unflinchingly continue the pro-German policy. It should be said, however, that this Council of Regents, far from resolving the political crisis in the country, further deepens and sharpens it. The great majority of the Bulgarian people manifest ever more clearly their implacability towards the traitors of their country. The chasm between the people and the ruling German agents has never been deeper than now.

Never before has the criminal character of this pro-German policy been so obvious as now. Not only the Bulgarian people, all that is sane, honest and national in them, oppose this policy; no, the entire logic of events, the whole situation, which has emerged in the course of the war, runs counter to it. This summer the German troops suffered crushing defeats on the Soviet-German front. The Red Army is chasing the German hordes towards the Dnieper. The summer offensive of the Red Army, which was a prolongation of the victories it won last winter, intensified exceedingly the acute crisis of the whole fascist camp. Under the impact of this crisis the Italian ally of fascist Germany collapsed. The only European Great Power which joined Hitler, Italy, was put out of action³⁰

Italy's capitulation bared the right flank of the Nazis in the Balkans. The war approached the shores of the Balkan Peninsula. At any moment the Balkans may become a battlefield. The hour of doom of Germany and her satellites is approaching inexorably.

And in such a situation, when yesterday's allies and partners of the nazi clique begin to desert it, Bulgaria's confused rulers dare to force the Bulgarian people to take part in the war on the side of the bankrupt nazis. The dictum is really coming true: Whom the Gods wish to destroy, they first deprive of reason.

Today two roads are facing Bulgaria: either to continue to swim in German waters, or to sever relations with Germany and to pursue an independent national policy.

The first road means to hand the Bulgarian army completely over to the German Command for the 'defence of the Balkans.' But this means nothing less than the physical extermination of hundreds of thousands of Bulgarians, turning the country into a battlefield, mass airraids and destructions and, finally, complete military defeat and a new incomparably more dreadful national disaster than that of 1918. The other road means freeing Bulgaria from German tutelage, preserving her manpower and resources so as to ensure her liberty and independence. Only by following this road will Bulgaria be able to get out of the blind alley into which she has been driven by the German Coburg dynasty and the nazi agency.

Can Bulgaria take this road, salutary for the Bulgarian people? The whole internal and international situation confirms that she can do it, provided the people and the army, hand in hand, rise decisively against the ruling nazi agency and form a real Bulgarian national government. It is certainly no easy task, but it is quite feasible, if the patriotic forces in the country and in the army boldly head the already existing national movement for saving the motherland.

The agents of Germany – Filov, Zhekov, Tsankov³¹ and their ilk – threaten with complete German occupation of Bulgaria, if the Bulgarians refuse to help the nazi conquerors and pursue an independent national policy.

This, however, is no longer possible.

The main forces of nazi Germany are stuck on the Eastern front. The impending danger of an invasion of

Europe by the Allies does not permit the nazis to disperse their depleted human reserves. After Italy dropped out of the war, the Italian divisions will go back home. It will be very hard for Hitler to find divisions not only to occupy the Balkans, but to smash the fresh Bulgarian army, if it rises against the Germans together with the people. There is no doubt that in such a case the people and the army would have the full military support of the Yugoslav National-Liberation Army and the Greek rebels. But even if we assume that Hitler were to start hostilities against the Bulgarian army, the people and the army would suffer considerably less casualties than those to which they are doomed by the present pro-nazi course of the Bulgarian rulers.

At any rate, Bulgaria has the full possibility, especially after Italy's capitulation and the incipient disintegration of the nazi bloc, to throw out the German conquerors and to save herself from national enslavement. Any procrastination in this respect means only aggravating the danger threatening the Bulgarian people.

In spite of the continuous hostile activity in Bulgaria, the Soviet public has manifested up to now great tolerance, being convinced that this pro-German policy is altogether alien to the Bulgarian people. The Russian people, who in the past have shed their blood for the liberation and independence of the fraternal Bulgarian people and who now bear the brunt of the struggle against the historical enemies of the Slavs – the German invaders, have the right to admonish Bulgaria that patience has its limits.

What can Bulgaria hope for, continuing to remain in a state of war with Great Britain and the United States, helping fascist Germany against the USSR and arousing the well-deserved hatred of the Balkan people, enslaved by the Germans?

The fate of the fraternal Bulgarian people has always been close to the heart of the peoples of the Soviet Union. That is why the Soviet public welcomes the endeavours of

the Bulgarian people to pull their country out of the fascist camp, to ward off a new disaster and to secure their national honour, liberty and independence.

Pravda, No. 230, September 16, 1943
Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, *Works*
Vol. 11, pp. 112-124

THE CRISIS IN BULGARIA

Bulgaria is undergoing a profound crisis. There is hardly any sector in the state and public life and any part in the country where the crisis is not felt. This crisis manifested itself with particular intensity in the Bulgarian Parliament – in the stormy debates on the reply to the throne speech of the regent, Prince Cyril. The present crisis has its roots in the pro-German policy pursued by the Bulgarian ruling circles against the vital interests of the nation and the will of the people. Lately, this crisis has become more acute following the crushing defeat suffered by the German troops at the hands of the victorious Red Army on the Soviet-German front. It is also sharpened by the disintegration of the predatory fascist bloc and the failure of all hopes pinned on unsurmountable dissensions among the Allies which became particularly evident after the Moscow³² and especially after the Teheran³³ Conferences. On the other hand, the crisis is intensified by the growing movement of the Bulgarian people, manifesting itself in a broad revolutionary struggle against the hated and ruinous pro-German policy. The scope of the national movement of revolt can be gauged by the fact that the government is now compelled to speak of it, after the bloody campaign against the partisans, launched at the end of March this year and continued throughout the summer and autumn with the participation of 20,000 soldiers and officers using artillery and air-craft, did not yield the result expected by the government. The Bulgarian patriots who rose to fight, arms in hand, formed many partisan detachments, which are active in the mountains of Central and South Bulgaria. These detachments already number several thousand men and their ranks continue to grow, despite all terrorist measures taken by the Bulgarian ruling circles and the Gestapo.

Alarm and confusion prevail in the camp of the Bulgarian ruling circles. These circles are trying to avert the sharpening crisis by mass reprisals against the fighting patriots and are mobilizing the police and Gestapo apparatus to smash the popular anti-German movement. But the raging repressions only add fuel to the fire of popular indignation and lead to a still greater sharpening of the crisis. From day to day the failure and doom of the policy of alliance with Nazi Germany become more evident, and the Gestapo oppression – more unbearable.

The Bulgarian ruling circles are also resorting to manoeuvres, using the methods of political camouflage in order to deceive the people and mitigate somehow the crisis which is gathering momentum. With that end in view, they are mobilizing their whole propaganda apparatus. State ministers, members of Parliament, police agents and venal journalists – all are on the move. The Government's spokesmen, criss-crossing the country like hysterical persons, are trying to represent the pro-German policy as a national policy. 'Bulgaria,' they say, 'does no harm to anybody, claims nothing that does not belong to her; all she is striving to do is to achieve her national ideals.' But this manoeuvre does not and cannot help to overcome the crisis, because the facts, which give the lie to that argumentation, are all too obvious.

The present Bulgarian rulers pose as 'unifiers' of the Bulgarians, as creators of a 'united Bulgaria'. But is it not true that Bulgaria, which 'regained' Macedonia and Thrace, is now losing her own national independence under the boot of the German conquerors? And is it not clear to anyone, who is not out of his mind, that after Germany's inevitable rout this so-called 'united' Bulgaria will fall apart like a house of cards? Is it not a fact that at the very time when the Bulgarian satellites of Hitler are trying to play the role of men who 'do no harm to anybody' Bulgaria continues to be a springboard and base of the Germans in their predatory war against the freedom-loving peoples and, in the first place, against the Soviet Union? Is it not a fact that the Germans, helped by the Bulgarian ruling circles, continue to fortify their positions in Bulgaria

and to exercise their sway to the detriment of the Bulgarian people, of their freedom and independence? The Bulgarian authorities servilely move the population from Varna in order to place the city with its naval base at the disposal of the Germans who, incidentally, plan to accommodate there tens of thousands of wounded German soldiers and officers, now being evacuated from the Crimea. Is it not a fact that the Germans introduce controllers in the Bulgarian army under the guise of 'specialists', but actually as commissars of Hitler? Is it not a fact that a whole Bulgarian occupation corps is stationed in Yugoslavia and that units of this corps, together with the German hordes, take part in hostilities against the Yugoslav National-Liberation Army recognized by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States as an allied army?

Finally, can the declaration of war on Great Britain and the United States by official Bulgaria be considered as dictated by Bulgarian national interests? The Bulgarian rulers are now shedding crocodile tears over the victims of their own criminal policy in connection with the allied air-raids on Sofia. But is it not universally known that on December 12, 1941, these same Bulgarian rulers noisily and solemnly declared war on the mighty powers, Great Britain and the United States, at the mere request of Hitler? Now they are complaining that the Soviet Union does not want to protect the Bulgarians from air-raids. And they have the impudence to say this, after all they have done to help Hitler in the war against the great Russian people who once liberated Bulgaria.

All these dishonest tricks are too crude to deceive the people, to win them over to the side of the ruling circles, who are trying to surmount the crisis, caused by their own pro-German, anti-national policy.

A truly national Bulgarian policy requires, to begin with, that Bulgaria cease to be a vassal of Germany and a partner in the Nazi predatory war, and also that the Germans be deprived of all Bulgarian military bases, communications and assistance; further, that the state of war with Great Britain and the United States be immediate-

ly discontinued. It requires that the Bulgarian troops in Yugoslavia cease their military operations without delay and withdraw – not war in favour of Hitler against the Yugoslav National-Liberation Army, but a policy of fraternal understanding and joint struggle together with the new, democratic federal Yugoslavia against the German aggressors and, on this basis, an amicable settlement of all national and territorial issues between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Bulgaria's interests and future demand a national policy of loyal collaboration with her neighbours and with the Great Democracies, cordial friendship with the Russian people who freed the Bulgarians from a five-century long foreign yoke. There is not and there cannot be any sensible Bulgarian, loving his country, who is not convinced that sincere friendship with the Soviet Union is as necessary for the national independence and prosperity of Bulgaria as the sun and air are for every living creature.

The Bulgarian people cannot realize their national interests without severing the ruinous alliance with Germany, which was imposed on them. The interests of the Bulgarian people – the creation of a free, independent, strong and democratic Bulgaria and the securing of a genuine national unification of the Bulgarians – can be realized only through a friendly agreement with the Balkan peoples, in the first place with the Yugoslav people, and with the assistance of the freedom-loving United Nations.

From a domestic point of view, the national policy makes it imperative to cease police and Gestapo reprisals against the opponents of the shameful alliance with Germany, to free the thousands of patriots, civil and military, now rotting away in prisons and concentration camps because of their struggle against the pro-German policy, to reinstate the patriotic officers who were dismissed from the army, to stop the export of Bulgarian foods and raw materials to Germany and make these available to the Bulgarian population and army, to ensure democratic freedoms to the people so that they may fully display their forces in defence of their country.

This is what a genuinely national foreign and home

policy of Bulgaria would mean. This policy, however, differs from the pro-German policy of the Bulgarian ruling circles as much as heaven does from earth. These are two diametrically opposed policies, which mutually exclude one another just as fire and water.

Endeavouring to ease the atmosphere of growing popular discontent, as well as the alarm and confusion within the ranks of their own followers, the Bulgarian ruling circles are resorting to other manoeuvres as well. Secretly they whisper: 'You see, we are already so tightly bound to Germany that we can do nothing else. No other policy is possible. If we turn now against Germany, things will get worse. At the slightest attempt to break with Germany, the fate of Italy will befall us. Bulgaria will become a theatre of military operations and destruction. Let us wait until the final phase of the war, and then we shall see.'

The example of Italy is irrelevant, since that country became an arena of military operations not because she severed relations with Germany, but because she did so too late. Italy became a battlefield because Mussolini's policy completely demoralized the army, helped the German Command to split the Italian armed forces, scattering their units in North Africa, in the Balkans and on the Soviet-German front. Thus, when Italy came out of the Nazi war, the Germans were able to occupy Central and North Italy with comparatively small forces and to turn the country into a battlefield. It is obvious to everyone that the Germans are trying to pursue a similar policy with respect to the Bulgarian army, insisting that new contingents of Bulgarian troops be sent to the Turkish border, to Thrace, Greece and Yugoslavia. And he who executes these German demands, is a traitor to his country and prepares total disaster to Bulgaria.

There is absolutely no truth in the allegation that it is impossible for Bulgaria to sever relations with Germany and to pursue a different policy. As is known, the great majority of the Bulgarian people is opposed to the Germans. The country has a good army, capable of coping by itself, with the support of the people, with the German armed forces in Bulgaria. Moreover, Bulgaria will be able

to rely on the most active solidarity and assistance from the National-Liberation Army of new Yugoslavia on the west, while on the south the Greeks are also fighting against the German aggressors and invaders.

It should be kept in mind too that, with the main forces of the German army pinned down on the Soviet-German front and suffering one defeat after another, and with the Allies actually preparing an invasion of Europe and powerful trusts from the east, west and south, on land, at sea and in the air, Nazi Germany is not in a position to switch any substantial armed forces to the Balkans.

It should be clear to anyone, capable of seeing things in their true light, that all this creates a real possibility for Bulgaria to break off her alliance with Germany, to get out of the Nazi camp and thus to solve the deep-rooted crisis which the country is now undergoing, in the interests of the Bulgarian people and their freedom and independence.

Only hopeless dunces or those who have sold out their conscience to the foreign conquerors can deny that this quite realistic possibility exists.

It is naïve to assume that if Bulgaria veers her foreign policy towards the Allies at the very last moment, at the collapse of Germany, she can count on their support. No, it would be too late then. In that case all would be in vain. Bulgaria would have to bear all the consequences of her participation in Germany's predatory war and heavy crimes. Only if she breaks off with Germany now, i. e. before Germany's complete rout, and contributes in proportion to her forces to this rout, will Bulgaria be able to avert the threatening national disaster and take a worthy place in the ranks of the freedom-loving nations in the post-war period.

The pro-German policy has brought Bulgaria to the brink of the abyss and caused a serious crisis. The utter failure of this policy is apparent. Yet strange but true, the so-called statesmen of Bulgaria are trying by force, and with the help of the Germans, to impose on the country a continuation of the present foreign policy. Of course, these statesmen cannot be suspected of any particular political

perspicacity, yet they are not such fools as not to realize the utter hopelessness and total bankruptcy of the pro-German policy. Then, why do they persevere blindly in this policy? Is it not because they are personally and materially tied to Germany and put their private interests above the national interests of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people? Does not this explain the fact that these gentlemen are in a hurry to transfer the capitals they have accumulated during the war to Swiss and other foreign banks in the hope of fleeing to some quiet place when Bulgaria collapses, just as ex-Tsar Ferdinand and his Prime Minister Radoslavov did in 1918?

But the Bulgarian people have nowhere to flee. They are and they will stay in their land. They have no intention of committing national and physical suicide, but the continuation of the brigand alliance with Germany spells such suicide.

United in the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian patriots are on the right road. They believe that Bulgaria will find a way out of the present crisis only by resolutely discarding the present pro-German policy in all its manifestations. They see Bulgaria's salvation in a steadfast national policy, a policy of collaboration with her neighbours and the great democratic powers, a policy of friendship with the Soviet Union in the struggle against the sworn enemy of the Slav peoples and all freedom-loving nations – Nazi imperialism.

To be or not to be – that is the question which history puts to the Bulgarian people and their leaders. Time is fleeting. The solution of these questions should not be protracted, if Bulgaria is to live and develop as an independent state in the community of the freedom-loving nations.

Pravda, No. 318 December 27, 1943

Signed: G. Dimitrov

G. Dimitrov, Works

Vol. 11, pp. 125-133.

ON THE GOVERNMENT OF BAGRYANOV

The Government of Bagryanov³⁴ is a pro-German government. The principal ministries – the War Ministry, the Ministries of Home and Foreign Affairs, of the Railways and Public Welfare, of Industry and Trade – are in the hands of rabid pro-German agents: Bagryanov, General Roussev, Professor Stanishev, Slaveiko Vassilev. The Germans and the Regents' Council hope that with the aid of the new government they will be able more efficiently to promote a pro-German policy than Bozhilov.

The composition and nature of Bagryanov's Government doubtlessly point to an attempt temporarily to deceive the people and if possible the allies, in order to gain time and to paralyze the rising insurgent movement and the growing indignation against the Germans in the ranks of the army. The Government of Bagryanov is called upon to solve an insoluble task, namely to pay Peter without robbing Paul. But mainly because of this reason, it cannot exist for a long time. And it will lead to a new intensification of the crisis which Bulgaria is undergoing.

The Government of Bagryanov obviously expresses the will of the Germans and of our fascists to secure the further promotion of a pro-German policy, preserving at the same time, however, the mask of Bulgaria's neutrality towards the Soviet Union, as well as its diplomatic relations with that country. The Germans undoubtedly consider it more advantageous for themselves to promote their policy through the Bulgarian rulers, rather than repeat the Hungarian experiment, because the internal situation and the disposition of the people and army in our country will by no means promise them success if they try to occupy Bulgaria directly.

Such are the intentions of the fascist camp in our coun-

try and of its masters. There is no doubt, however, that they are reckoning without the host. There can be no doubt that Bagryanov's Government is not only not in a position to resolve the deep crisis Bulgaria is undergoing, but is not in the least alleviating this crisis. The reasons for this crisis lie in the fact that Bulgarian rulers are pursuing an anti-popular, pro-German policy against the will of the Bulgarian people, that they have delivered our country into the hands of the Germans, despite and against its interests and future, thereby dragging Bulgaria into a new, horrible national disaster. This crisis can only be resolved by a break with nazi Germany and by the pursuit of a persistent Bulgarian national policy of co-operation with the Soviet Union and its allies. Only a truly Bulgarian national government, expressing the will of the Bulgarian people and relying on the people and army in the struggle to drive the Germans out of Bulgaria can help the solution of this crisis.

Just now, when Bagryanov and his like are trying to gain time and hamper the development of the insurgent movement against the Germans by means of fraudulent and demagogic manoeuvres within and outside the country, the Fatherland Front is unmasking all illusions as regards this government and is appealing with renewed force for strengthening the anti-German and the people's liberation struggle.

June 5, 1944

Hristo Botev Broadcasting Station Speaking
Vol. 7, pp. 22-24

G. Dimitrov, Works, Vol. 11, pp. 134-136
Published by the BCP, 1954

BULGARIA'S ROAD TO SALVATION

(Preface to the pamphlet under the same title)

The articles* on Bulgaria printed in this pamphlet, though published at the end of last year, retain their actuality to this day. It can be said that since then events have confirmed all basic theses and conclusions of these articles.

The rout of the German hordes at the hands of the gallant Red Army on the Soviet-German front, the successful landing of the British and American troops in Northern France³⁵, the obviously disastrous course the war has now taken for Germany have greatly intensified the prolonged and profound crisis in Bulgaria. Utter dismay, confusion and panic prevail among the Bulgarian satellites of Hitler. The circle of people, set on sticking it out with nazi Germany to the bitter end, is growing ever smaller. The government of the demagogue Bagryanov, which succeeded the bankrupt Bozhilov government, at first aroused in certain Bulgarian circles the illusion that it was looking for a way out of the war; now however, it has unmasked itself with its double-faced intrinsically pro-German policy. Despite the extreme demagoguery and intensified terror against the patriots and the resistance movement, it failed to prevent a further sharpening of the crisis, because the latter has its roots in the disastrous and loathed pro-German policy, pursued both by the former and by the present governments. This crisis can be overcome only by severing relations with nazi Germany, by chasing the German invaders out of the country and by a firm reorientation of Bulgaria's policy towards friendship with the Soviet Union and collaboration with its allies.

If our assertion that Bulgaria had every possibility to tear up the shameful and unnatural alliance with nazi Germany and thus save herself from ruin and terrible national

* Ref. to the articles: 'Whither Bulgaria?' and 'The Crisis in Bulgaria'.

disaster was true in September and December 1943, now it is still more justified by the present situation.

The Red Army has reached the borders of Czechoslovakia and Hungary; pursuing the enemy, it has set foot on Romanian soil and is not far from the Danube; now it has launched a formidable victorious offensive all along the vast front stretching from Finland in the North to the foot of the Carpathian Mountains in the South; it is riding Soviet territory of the last remnants of the invaders; it is inflicting crushing defeats on the German hordes in Poland and is victoriously forging ahead towards Berlin to deal the final blow to the fascist beast in its own den. The forces of the Allies are chasing the Germans from Italy and pursuing them in France. In close proximity to Bulgaria the Yugoslav National-Liberation Army is successfully freeing its land from the invaders, while in the Southern part of the Balkans, in Greece, a real popular war against the Germans is on. A mighty popular movement to throw out the German bandits is gathering momentum in all occupied countries, especially in France. Under the pressure of recent events the neutral states are pulling away from Germany, while Turkey, which borders directly on Bulgaria, has severed diplomatic and economic relations with Germany.

Nazi Germany, playing her last cards, is faced by inevitable doom. The military defeats are undermining the nazi regime in Germany. The generals' and officers' mutiny and the recent attempt on Hitler in his Headquarters prove that clearly³⁶. In the summits of the German Army a deep crack has appeared. The fascist camp is increasingly rent by internal struggles. The success of the wild terror of Himmler and his Gestapo against the rebels is only temporary and palliative. Actually this terror will further intensify Germany's internal contradictions and speed up the process of disintegration within the ranks of the German fascist army. In any case, the positions of the nazi regime are radically undermined, and this is bound to affect the satellites of Hitler, especially Bulgaria.

How can Bulgaria's rulers and the Bulgarian Army Command justify their pro-German policy and servility to

Hitler before the people in the face of all these facts, at a moment when even German generals and officers denounce the bankrupt adventurer, Hitler, and openly revolt against continuing a war which Germany has already lost?

Any sober-minded Bulgarian cannot but ask himself: why should Bulgaria have to sacrifice herself, her army, her people's blood, her resources and national future for the sake of the vassal alliance with Germany, forced upon the Bulgarian people by the German agency, when in Germany herself the impending disaster spells deadly panic? Can one conceive of greater foolishness and meaner betrayal of the people under the present circumstances than that which Bulgaria's rulers are committing by continuing to stick together with the Germans?

The situation has radically changed since March 1941, when the Tsar Boris Government let the German troops into Bulgaria and Germany treacherously attacked the Soviet Union in June of the same year. At that time the Bulgarian fascist conquerors were firmly convinced that by hitching Bulgaria to Hitler's bandwagon and by helping him to crush Yugoslavia and Greece they would be able to conquer Macedonia and Western Thrace and to become the masters of the Balkans. They believed in an early victory of the nazi hordes, which had already overrun Czechoslovakia and Poland, grabbed Denmark and Norway, crushed Belgium, Holland and France, and attacked treacherously the Soviet Union. They were already making attractive plans how to capture the wealth and plunder the population of the occupied Balkan lands. But the Red Army upset all predatory plans of the adventurer Hitler and, with them, those of his short-sighted and greedy satellites. Thus, in their quest for easy booty, setting out on a campaign for 'Great Bulgaria' and undivided hegemony in the Balkan Peninsula, the Bulgarian lackeys of Hitler – traitors to the interests and future of their people, let the country be ruined by the Germans, turned it into a tool of imperialist Germany and brought it to the brink of the abyss.

Any serious statesman would take into consideration the radical change in the course of the present war and would draw the corresponding conclusions for his country. Yet, experience shows that the rulers of Germany's vassal states seem incapable of doing this. The regents-usurpers, Prince Cyril and Filov, as well as the Bagryanov Government, installed in power by them, endeavour by hook or by crook to continue the pro-German policy. Secretly and hypocritically they declare to be only waiting for an opportune moment to draw away from Germany without undue perturbations and sacrifices and to be striving to establish and consolidate friendly relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union; actually, however, they are continuing to lend aid to nazi Germany in her war against the USSR and the latter's allies and are forcing the Bulgarian army to wage a fratricidal war against the National-Liberation Army of Yugoslavia.

Had Bulgaria's rulers really the country's salvation at heart, is it not clear that, to begin with, they would have ceased rather than intensified the reprisals against the followers of the Fatherland Front, against the patriots in the army and the resistance movement – the most hopeful internal popular forces in the struggle to eject the Germans from the country; they would not have increased the number of prison and concentration camp inmates but would have liberated the tens of thousands of people's fighters who are now smarting there. Had Bulgaria's rulers the salvation of the country at heart, they would not send troops against the National-Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, but would withdraw the Bulgarian occupation corps from there and establish friendly relations with the new, democratic, Federative Yugoslavia. Had they Bulgaria's salvation at heart, they would refuse all material and moral aid to nazi Germany in its predatory war against the Soviet Union, against the Anglo-Soviet-American democratic coalition.

The ruling pro-German fascist clique, however, does nothing to break with Germany and to save Bulgaria. It thinks only about its own salvation, about how to safeguard, by all possible manoeuvres and even by some

temporary concessions, its usurped power over the people, hoping to be able, as the war drags out, to evade all responsibility and to reach by compromise some way out of the trap into which it has fallen as a result of its treacherous and adventurous policy.

The foremost concern of Bulgaria's rulers now is, by unbridled demagoguery, to camouflage their pro-German fascist policy as best they can. To the peasants they are promising land and higher prices for farm produce, and to the civil servants and pensioners – higher salaries and pensions. They are noisily launching a drive against 'illegal enrichment' and proclaiming the introduction of a 'new era of justice' in the country. All their false promises aim at misleading the people, so that they may somehow check the growth of their struggle against the German invaders.

No one cannot expect the Bulgarian fascists, the pan-Bulgarian chauvinists to take, willingly and on their own initiative, measures to break with Germany. Trembling for their skins and dreading the impending popular retaliation, these partners of Hitler's crimes and villanies will do anything to lead Bulgaria along the road of the pro-German policy, so disastrous for the people, unless they are deprived of the last possibility to do so.

Now it is up to the Bulgarian people; it is high time for them to act and to show their readiness, arms in hand, to chase the German invaders out of the country. No matter what Bulgaria's traitorous rulers and nazi lackeys, who are using the state power now in their hands in the interests of their treacherous policy and are counting on German bayonets, may undertake, they can neither avert nor postpone for long a break with Germany, if the Bulgarian people take the task of their salvation into their own hands.

The whole problem, facing the Bulgarian people at the present moment, consists of speeding up a break with nazi Germany, participating in the rout of the nazi army, nazi state and the barbarous nazi 'New Order' to the best of their ability, saving in this way their country from ruin and national disaster and winning the right to freedom and a befitting place in the family of the freedom-loving nations,

in which the great Russian people, who freed the Bulgarian people from a five-century long foreign yoke, play the main part.

Under the conditions of the approaching final rout of nazi Germany and of the present situation in the Balkans, the Bulgarian people, their resistance movement and patriotic soldiers and officers, in collaboration with the Yugoslav National-Liberation Army and the Macedonian and Greek rebels, are quite capable of breaking immediately the prelatory alliance with nazi Germany and of ejecting the Germans from their country. They are able to disarm and render harmless the bulk of the German troops, now stationed on Bulgarian territory. This would mean saving the life of hundreds of thousands of sons of the Bulgarian people, of preserving the country from ruin and threatening disaster and, at the same time, it would be a valuable contribution on the part of the Bulgarian people to shortening the war and diminishing further sacrifices. Today the brilliant victories of the glorious Red Army, and the concerted offensives against nazi Germany from the East, West and South, will inspire further confidence in the success of Bulgaria's liberation struggle to all Bulgarian patriots who, regardless of ideology and party affiliation, are united in the Fatherland Front for the struggle to liberate their people from the German yoke and for the rebirth of Bulgaria as a free, independent, democratic and strong state, on friendly terms with the great Russian people and the Soviet Union. The anti-nazi opposition in the army is growing. The resistance movement against the German bandits is gathering momentum in the whole country. The entire fascist state machine was used against the resistance movement in Bulgaria, but in vain. Though there is much to be desired as far as organization, armament and military leadership are concerned, this movement is continuously growing, its forces are augmenting, the support the partisan detachments get from the people is extending in scope incessantly and the comradeship-in-arms between the partisans and the patriots in the army is becoming ever firmer.

Resisting the cruel repressions of the fascist punitive

detachments which often block entire partisan-held regions and in their ferocity raze whole villages to the ground, the resistance movement is developing more and more as the most reliable armed force of the Fatherland Front, without which the final liberation of the Bulgarian people from the German yoke and fascist tyranny is unthinkable. Precisely this importance of the resistance movement makes incumbent on the leaders and militants of the Fatherland Front, at the centre and locally, to strengthen the Fatherland Front and as soon as possible to overcome the tendency in some antifascist circles to under-rate the partisan armed struggle, as well as the fear of its extension with the participation of the patriotic elements in the army. Only thus will the Bulgarian patriots be able to solve Bulgaria's vital problems which confront them: to chase the German invaders out of the country and to establish a genuinely national People's Democracy, capable of leading Bulgaria definitely out of the blind alley, into which she was driven by the pro-German fascist rulers.

Of course, there still lie many obstacles ahead; extremely great efforts and bitter battles will be necessary and quite a few losses will have to be borne. But there is no doubt that the Bulgarian people, the progressive part of whom has been waging a heroic struggle against fascism for twenty years, can and will fulfil their duty to themselves, to their country, to their Slav brothers and to the entire progressive humanity.

Bulgaria's Road to Salvation, pamphlet, 1944

G. Dimitrov, Works

Vol. 11, pp. 137-146

(slightly abridged)

DIRECTIVE
TO THE GENERAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE
PARTISAN FORCES ON THE FORMATION OF THE
FIRST PARTISAN NATIONAL LIBERATION
DIVISION

August 27, 1944

Convey at once through all possible channels the following instructions to the Central Committee of the Party:

1. All democratic progressive forces of the people, all genuinely anti-German groups, workers and elements should rally around the National Committee of the Fatherland Front, as a representative of the Bulgarian people, organizer and leader of the people's struggle against the German brigands and their Bulgarian fascist agency.
2. Measures should be taken at once for the immediate disarmament of the German military units, members of the Gestapo, etc., to render them harmless by all means, as well as decisively to crush every resistance and hostile operations against the Fatherland Front and the Red Army.
3. The people, soldiers and officers should be called on to fight against the Germans and their agency, and the efforts of the National Committee to set up a Government of the Fatherland Front should in every way be supported.
4. All forces should be mobilized with a view to paralyzing any attempt at carrying on military operations against the Red Army on the part of the Germans and their fascist hirelings.
5. Prompt measures should be taken to secure the free activity of the National Committee of the Fatherland Front, its parties and groups, in connection with establishing uncensored press and releasing imprisoned patriots.

6. The Bulgarian people and their armed forces must resolutely pass over to the side of the Red Army, the army which liberated Bulgaria from fascist oppression, and together with it should clear the Bulgarian territory of the German brigands and their perfidious helpers.

Confirm reception of this and its conveyance to the Central Committee. Send information about what is going on promptly.

G. Dimitrov

Robotnichesko Delo, No. 208
September 7, 1947

G. Dimitrov, *Works*
Vol. 11, pp. 147-148
Published by the BCP, 1954

ALL FOR THE FRONT

*To the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party
(Communists)*

Dear Comrades,

Together with you, with all Bulgarian patriots and with our glorious youth, I am overwhelmed with joy and pride that at long last our long-suffering, militant people succeeded, by their anti-fascist uprising and the fraternal support of the victorious Red Army, in overthrowing the shameful German fascist yoke and in joining the bloc of the United Nations, headed by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States.

The victory of the Fatherland Front is of tremendous historical importance for our country. September 9 ushered in a new era in the history of our people. The decisive break with nazi Germany, the toppling from power of the fiendish nazi agency, the traitors and grave-diggers of Bulgaria, the establishment of the Fatherland Front Government and the restoration of the people's rights and freedoms, the participation of the renovated Bulgarian army in the Patriotic War against the German predatory hordes on the side of the Great Democracies – all this constitutes a solid foundation for the building up of a new, free, independent and strong Bulgaria.

But this is only a *foundation*, just as the victory of the Fatherland Front is only a *beginning*. Now this victory has to be consolidated. We must build tenaciously and intelligently on this foundation. We are faced by various major obstacles, which have to be overcome rapidly and resolutely.

The nazi hordes are defeated *but not yet crushed*. The fascist beast is severely wounded *but not yet destroyed*.

After the damages which Bulgaria caused to our

neighbours, to our liberator – Russia, and to the liberation mission of the United Nations, through the fault of the pro-German rulers and pan-Bulgarian chauvinists, we must fully realize that our nation's future will depend, first and foremost, on that contribution which we, as a people and state, will now make to the common military efforts to crush fascist Germany as soon as possible, to bring the war to an early victorious close and to establish a new, lasting and equitable peace.

Today this task should be given priority over all other nations and secondary tasks in Bulgaria. 'All for the front, all for the final victory over fascism, the German villains and slave-drivers' – that is the supreme slogan, under the sign of which the forces of the Workers' Party, the youth, the Fatherland Front and its Government, the whole nation and its army, as well as all resources of the country, should be mobilized.

There is no doubt that the prime task under the present conditions is to consolidate the Fatherland Front as the only sound political factor in Bulgaria, as a militant alliance of all really national, popular democratic, political and social forces of our people. The victory of September 9 would not have been possible without the Fatherland Front and its resistance movement. Likewise, neither our successful participation in the victorious termination of the war, nor the securing of a lasting and equitable peace for Bulgaria would be possible without the consolidation of the Fatherland Front. The realization of the democratic programme of the Fatherland Front would not be possible, either. And without the firm and steadfast implementation of this programme in the field of foreign and home policy, in the economic, social and cultural life of the country, there can be no question of building up a new, democratic Bulgaria.

The Workers' Party (Communists) took the initiative in establishing the Fatherland Front and in organizing the resistance movement against fascism. This Party and its youth incurred the heaviest losses in the struggle for the liberation of the people from the nazi yoke. It bears, therefore, the greatest responsibility for the further strength-

ening of the Fatherland Front and for the realization of its tasks. Fulfilling honestly its obligations to its allies in the Fatherland Front and insisting on reciprocity, the Workers' Party (Communists) is called upon to play the role of a rallying factor in the Fatherland Front, to set an example of fraternal collaboration and militant friendship of all anti-fascist, patriotic parties, public groups and currents within the Fatherland Front, for the complete triumph of its cause, so salutary for the people and the country. Standing above all group and selfish interests and considerations, the Communists have the duty to pay always heed to the general, vital and lasting interests of the people in deciding internal, economic, social, cultural and international questions, affecting our country's present and future as a People's Democracy which lives in eternal friendship with our liberators, the great Russian people.

The Workers' Party (Communists) and our allies in the Fatherland Front should never forget that the complete rout of the nazi hordes and the destruction of the barbarous 'New Order' in Europe, as well as in the Balkans, are impossible without the comradeship-in-arms of the three Great Powers – the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States, and that the establishment of a lasting peace after the war will depend primarily on the preservation of this collaboration of the three world powers in the post-war period. It is of vital interest for our country and its future to abstain from anything which might serve the enemies of this collaboration, to cut short in good time any provocative intrigues and manifestations aimed at giving rise to mutual suspicions and misunderstandings between the allies, no matter where they might come from.

Today it is no secret that all the national misfortunes and disasters, which befell our people during the last decades, have their main roots in jingoism, in the pan-Bulgarian ideology and policy of hegemony in the Balkans and domination over the neighbouring peoples. On this basis fascism behaved outrageously in Bulgaria for years on end. On this basis the German agency of Tsar Ferdinand and Tsar Boris handed Bulgaria over to the Germans and turned her into a tool of German imperialism

against our liberators and western and southern neighbours. In the name of 'Great Bulgaria' the pan-Bulgarian chauvinists – traitors to the nation and German agents – brought the country for the third time to the brink of disaster and nearly to its perdition. It is impossible to build up a new reborn Bulgaria, without ruthlessly destroying pan-Bulgarian chauvinism, this ulcer on the living body of our country. Parallel with hamstringing the carriers of this deadly infection, much explanatory, ideological work is necessary among the people and their intelligentsia so as to stamp out the last trace of pan-Bulgarian ideology and adventurous policy. It is necessary to cleanse the Augean stables of the dark, putrid and ignominious fascist heritage, with an iron broom, to ozone the political air under the Bulgarian sky. This is one of the foremost tasks confronting our Party.

I do not doubt that the Bulgarian Communist Party, tempered in a long and arduous struggle against fascism, foreign agents and people's enemies, drawing continuously valuable lessons from its distant and recent past, realizing its historical responsibility at the present crucial moment, will despite all difficulties find sufficient forces within itself and support among the masses to fulfil honourably its duty to the people and country, pursuing a sober and realistic policy, always attuned to the interests of the people, which will lead our nation from the brink of the abyss, where it was pushed by the treacherous pro-nazi clique, to the broad and open avenue of freedom, progress, creative labour and prosperity.

Accept, Dear Comrades, my best regards.

Yours, G. Dimitrov

Moscow, September 28, 1944

Rabotnichesko Delo, No 13
October 2, 1944

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 11, pp. 151-156

FOR THE ECONOMIC CONSOLIDATION AND INDEPENDENCE OF FATHERLAND³⁷ FRONT BULGARIA

Talk with Our Economic Delegation

On the utilization of the country's internal resources. Bulgaria has been cruelly robbed by the Germans, but not hopelessly ruined. We should speedily mobilize all internal resources of the country to help the country out of its grave economic situation and to consolidate it. A better organization of the country's economic life should be introduced. The most important condition is, above all, to rely on our own national resources, forces and labour, and to be able to produce most of the goods we need alone.

On national economic construction. Perfect order should be introduced into Bulgaria's industry, speedily and resolutely cutting off all possibilities of wrecking and disorganization. We should build up our own sound economy, our own viable industry, including heavy industry. We should also build blast furnaces for the processing of ores, factories for the production of automobiles and engines, and for machine-building. Our country is rich in natural resources. Countless riches are hidden in its earth. One of the important tasks of Fatherland Front Bulgaria is to tap and work out these resources. In this respect it can certainly rely on the assistance and support of the USSR. We should never forget that our own economic might is indispensable to guarantee political and national independence.

On the role and participation of the co-operative in Bulgaria's economic life. The co-operative is an organization of the masses. It should play an important role in the country's economic construction. One may say that the co-operative

should to a *great extent* play the same role in the population's economic and cultural interests; as the Fatherland Front is playing in Bulgaria's public and political life. The co-operative should take part in all the more important fields of the economic, everyday and public life: production, supply, housing construction, crediting improving the population's living standards by building public baths, bakeries, etc. The co-operative should therefore be based on sound democratic foundations. The co-operative cultivation of the land should be organized, by creating all possible conditions for the development of this kind of co-operative. In this way the productivity of the Bulgarian land will be increased and the well-being of the peasants and of the whole people will be improved.

On the participation of industry in the economic construction of Fatherland Front Bulgaria. Industry is an important and major sector of the national economy. Industry should serve the people and Bulgaria and not the selfish interests of a group of profiteers. The patriotic industrialists should understand that it is in their interest to drive out among their class the wreckers and parasitic elements, the profiteers who want to grow rich at the expense of the people. It will thus be possible to convince them that they will have the full opportunity of giving free rein to their initiative and enterprising spirit as industrialists. The same holds good of the business class as well.

On the relations between workers and industrialists. 1) The industrialists should maintain normal living and working conditions of the workers: good relations, good labour conditions, canteens, normal wages, etc. 2) The industrialists should be convinced that as their activity and initiative is placed at the service of the people, this will be appreciated by the workers and they will have a positive attitude towards the production initiatives of the industrialists. The workers and industrialists should have relations that will help their work and develop and increase production for the welfare of the whole country. Of course, the class contradictions will not be done away with

under the new rule either. As long as there are classes, the class struggle continues.

On the ideological and political re-education of the people. Our people need to be re-educated. Workers, peasants, craftsmen and intellectuals also need to be re-educated to a certain degree. Our businessmen and industrialists, however, have the greatest need of re-education in a democratic, progressive spirit. The majority of the businessmen and industrialists were under the influence of the rapacious policy of big financial capital which dictated Bulgaria's economy. This re-education of businessmen and industrialists should be expressed in a change of their attitude towards the state and workers and in subjecting private interests to national interests.

On the character of the Fatherland Front Rule. In Bulgaria the government is in the hands of the Fatherland Front. This means that in Bulgaria the power is in the hands of the people for the first time. This leads Bulgaria towards a happier and brighter future. Everything will depend exclusively on the stability of the Fatherland Front. In the past there was a coalition of ruling parties. These were temporary coalitions, in which struggles were waged for a bigger participation in the government of the country, for greater advantages and profits, for a greater number of posts. The Fatherland Front is not such a coalition. The Fatherland Front is a lasting militant alliance of workers, peasants, craftsmen and intellectuals. It has and should have in it representatives of the patriotic industrialists and businessmen. All real patriots should work for the consolidation of the Fatherland Front Government. The Fatherland Front is a nation-wide movement, within the framework of which Bulgaria's political life will develop. The Fatherland Front rule is a people's democratic rule. The Fatherland Front democracy is a new type of democracy – a people's democracy, differing from pseudo-democracy, which in fact only screens the economic and political oppression of the people on the part of the people's oppressors and robbers. Under the Fatherland Front rule private property is preserved. Private initiative is also preserved, only private interest is limited in favour of the

state, of the public and national interest. The principle task now is: to consolidate the Fatherland Front with all our might, to continue the struggle for the final eradication of fascism in all its forms and manifestations and to work for building up a powerful, democratic and prosperous Bulgaria.

Moscow, January 14, 1945

Pamphlet To Fatherland Front Bulgaria, 1945
G. Dimitrov, Works

Vol. 11, pp. 164-167
Published by the BCP, 1954

THE FATHERLAND FRONT IS A LASTING MILITANT ALLIANCE OF ALL DEMOCRATIC PROGRESSIVE FORCES

*To the National Congress of the Fatherland Front
Committees³⁸*

Brothers and Sisters, Young Comrades! I extend to you my warmest militant greetings and wishes for success in your work for the prosperity of your country. For the first time in Bulgaria's political history a nation-wide congress is being held. The National Congress which is called upon to strike the balance of the road traversed since the historic victory of September 9, the date of Bulgaria's liberation from fascism, and to map out the measure for the implementation of the beneficial programme of the Fatherland Front, is an exceptionally important event in the life of our people.

Many responsible tasks face the Congress. But the most important task, which stands above all tasks, is no doubt the all-round consolidation of the Fatherland Front as a lasting militant alliance of all democratic progressive forces of the country, as a living embodiment of the anti-fascist, patriotic unity of the Bulgarian people. Because everything else depends on this – the successful participation of our people in the victorious end of the Patriotic War against the nazi barbarians, the consolidation of economic life and improvement in the well-being of the masses, the favourable settlement of our country's international situation and finally, the guarantee of its freedom, independence and prosperity.

The Fatherland Front, aided most actively by the Red Army, our great liberator, saved Bulgaria from the terrible disaster to which the fascist monsters had brought it. Thanks to the Fatherland Front, our people have done

away once for all with the infamous fascist past, effacing the black stains left by the treacherous pan-Bulgarian chauvinists, and have now taken their honourable place among the ranks of the Slav peoples and of all peace-loving nations. Our country has also turned from a wretched satellite of fascist Germany into a factor of future peace and progress in the Balkans. The Fatherland Front has laid the foundations and opened up wide prospects for building a new, free and renovated Bulgaria.

That is why, enemies of the Bulgarian people at home and abroad, overt and covert, are maliciously, fiercely and treacherously trying to undermine the militant unity of the Fatherland Front and discredit its people's government. For this reason mainly, we have to strengthen to the utmost the national vigilance towards these enemies and their agents, under whatever mask they may act. The strength and future of our people lie in the militant and patriotic unity embodied now in the Fatherland Front.

There cannot be a real Bulgarian patriot who is not in the ranks of the Fatherland Front, who does not contribute his share to its consolidation according to his abilities, and who does not preserve its unity as the apple of his eye. There can be no room for the cursed fascism in new, democratic Bulgaria, for pan-Bulgarian chauvinism and hatred of man, for the people's traitors and agents of the fascist enemy.

In order to consolidate the undoubted achievements won by our people, and successfully to overcome all difficulties facing them, the Government and the National Committee of the Fatherland Front, as well as the government organs and the local Fatherland Front committees in closest co-operation must mobilize all forces of the people and their creative initiative and energy, mobilize all men, women and young people as full-fledged builders of new Bulgaria, mobilize all natural resources of the country in order to increase its economic, political, cultural, military and national might.

Our country cannot and should not tolerate the fascist conspirators, wreckers, all kinds of profiteers, parasites, politicians, dishonourable careerists, vile disseminators of

fascist poison and obscurantism if it wants to be really free, prosperous and powerful. And it should and will be such a country.

I shake your hands heartily.

Yours, G. Dimitrov

Moscow, March 11, 1945

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 148
March 12, 1945

G. Dimitrov, *Works*
Vol. 11, pp. 171-173
Published by the BCP, 1954

ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF GENUINE LITERATURE IN NEW BULGARIA

To the Union of Bulgarian Writers

Please accept my warm thanks for your congratulations.

Today, when the war of liberation against fascist Germany has been brought to a victorious end and the period of peace has begun, most favourable prospects are opening up for the creative efforts of our writers. I hope that the Bulgarian writers will take full advantage of these possibilities. Because our people need a genuine, people's literature, just as they need bread and air; a literature which, true to life and profoundly emotional, will help to raise the people to a higher cultural and ideological level. Its task is to develop devotion and love for the people, intensifying the general aversion to fascism and all people's enemies, to scourge everything that is rotten and noxious for the healthy people's organism (parasitism, vulgar careerism and petty egoistic political intrigues). It will thus cleanse the Bulgarian atmosphere to the stench of pan-Bulgarian chauvinism and obscurantism, inculcating love of genuine science and encouraging every kind of heroism in labour and culture, in the fight for the defence of the people's rights and liberties; it will educate our people in a feeling of Slav unity, of international solidarity and eternal friendship with our liberator, the great Soviet people.

The wonderful heroism of our people's partisans, men and women, and underground fighters in the struggle against the fascists, the brave participation of the Bulgarian Army in the final victorious defeat over fascist Germany, the courageous work in the rear in support of the front and the people – every thing should be artistically recreated by genuine, people's writers. Alongside with this,

millions of children and young people need high quality literature.

The Writers' Union is called upon to give its all-round contribution to the development of genuine literature in new Bulgaria. It has the important task of encouraging in every possible way all real talents, constantly to increase their number and help them to create the necessary conditions for their literary creative activity.

It is the duty of the Writers' Union with the aid of sound literary criticism, to clear the Bulgarian literary field of harmful weeds, to clear the ranks of the Bulgarian writers of incompetent, self-styled writers and every kind of literary hack-writers.

In this spirit I wholeheartedly wish the Bulgarian writers success in their creative work.

G. Dimitrov

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 202

May 14, 1945

G. Dimitrov, Works

Vol. 11, pp. 191-192

Published by the BCP, 1954

Dimiter Blagoev – our unforgettable Old Man – is the generally acknowledged father of Marxism and the socialist labour movement in Bulgaria, the founder of our Party. His historic merits in this respect are quite exceptional. After receiving his revolutionary tempering while still a student in Russia, where in 1884 he founded the first

Social Democratic groups, young Dimiter Blagoev was expelled from that country and in 1885 returned to Bulgaria, bursting with energy and a fervent desire to propagate scientific socialism, to educate and organize the nascent working class. Although our country was then highly underdeveloped with petty property predominating, Dimiter Blagoev, through persistent, steadfast work, lighted and paved the way of the workers' movement, leading its ship between the Scylla and Charybdis³⁹ of the then existing ideological and political chaos.

He resolutely fought for the creation of a proletarian party and later achieved this aim, firmly opposing all who, under the banner of 'the common cause of the productive strata,' strove to place the working class under the tutelage of the predatory bourgeoisie.

Thus, under the leadership of Dimiter Blagoev, the Marxist Party of the Narrow Socialists, the forerunner of the present glorious Workers' Party, was formed in 1903.

In Bulgarian 'Narrow-Socialism', in contrast to the Left-wing trends in the Social Democratic parties of the Second International, developed as a Marxist trends kindred rather than hostile to Bolshevism (Marxism-Leninism), we owe this uniquely to our great teacher and leader Dimiter Blagoev, to his keen theoretical eye, his firm principled stand, his implacability towards all distortions of Marxism, his boundless devotion to the working

class, and to his unshakeable faith in the forces of the working people.

It was Dimiter Blagoev who laid the ideological foundations on which the Narrow-Socialist Party succeeded in growing up and, overcoming the defects and weaknesses of Narrow-Socialism, in becoming without undue internal perturbations and for the good of our people, a Marxist-Leninist Party. And if our Party, despite prolonged fascist terror and major setbacks, was able to rise on its feet again and to become stronger, more united and efficient after every setback, and to emerge now as an important political factor in the government of new Bulgaria, we and our people owe this primarily to Dimiter Blagoev. Under his wise leadership our Party developed and grew as a monolithic organization with a clear-cut programme and policy and an iron self-imposed discipline.

In the course of decades Dimiter Blagoev, assisted by his close comrades-in-arms – Georgi Kirkov and Gavril Georgiev, educated and paternally reared staunch cadres, devoted to the working class and the people. We, his pupils, are proud to have had so worthy and great a teacher. Dimiter Blagoev incarnated in his person the great theoretician, the best propagandist and the persistent organizer of the workers' movement. He distinguished himself by his principled attitude and in his actions was never guided by personal motives or momentary moods. Like Lenin, he put the interests of the Party, the only steadfast representative and defender of the interests of the working class and people, above all personal considerations and transient moments.

By his example and rich, splendid militant life, Dimiter Blagoev left to us – his pupils and followers – bequest: to be always firmly principled; to be dedicated to the working class and its historic mission to the last breath; to be implacable towards all pseudo-theories hostile to Marxism; to subordinate our personal life to the interests of the Party, to the service of the working class and our people; to preserve the fighting unity, discipline, purity and honour of our Party as the apple of our eye.

The rich scholarly and literary heritage, as well as the

whole life of Dimitar Blagoev, are an inexhaustible source of education for Party cadres and members and for all real Bulgarian patriots in the present Fatherland Front epoch, in which the future of our country is being shaped.

G. Dimitrov

Moscow, May 15, 1945

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 206
May 19, 1945

G. Dimitrov, *Works*
Vol. 11, pp. 196-199
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FORWARD TO A BRILLIANT, OVERWHELMING ELECTION VICTORY

Speech Delivered on November 6, 1945 at the Sofia National Theatre on the Occasion of the 28th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution

Dear Countrymen!

Allow me to thank you most cordially for your friendly patriotic reception.

Twenty-two years have elapsed since I was last on Bulgarian land. I hope you will believe me when I tell you that throughout this period, wherever I have been and whatever I have been doing, I have never, not for a single moment, ceased thinking and working for my people, the Bulgarian people, for their future, happiness and prosperity. In this connection it may not be superfluous to remind you of the moment when the Reichstag Fire Trial, which you all know of, came to an end. During the trial, and especially after the trial I sent a few official telegrams to the then Prime Minister of Bulgaria, Nikola Moushanov⁴⁰, to the then Bulgarian Government, to be allowed, as a Bulgarian, acquitted by the German Court, to return to my country and devote my efforts and abilities to the struggle in my country. The answer was also formal: 'Georgi Dimitrov is not a Bulgarian citizen!' Under the then existing conditions, dear countrymen, that meant that I and my Bulgarian co-defendants would remain in the claws of this same Goering and this same Hitler who killed millions of people later.

Nikola Moushanov and his Minister of the Interior, Girginov, are now trumpeting far and wide about democracy, but at the same time forget this shameful fact that the doors of his own country were closed to a Bulgarian, who tried as best he could to defend the

honour of the Bulgarian people. And if it were not for Moscow which saved the oppressed nations, if it were not for the Soviet Government, you would surely have today held a memorial service for Dimitrov, whom you welcomed so warmly. I remind you of this fact, because when I got off the plane in my country, the first thing I did was to have a look at the Bulgarian newspapers. I opened and read the opposition *Zemledelsko Znamé*⁴¹, *Svoboden Narod*⁴², the other '*Znamé*'⁴³. Tell me, Comrades, in what other country can one lie so unscrupulously, recklessly and dishonestly, and slander one's own people, one's own country and its government which enjoys the confidence of the majority of the people? They are absolutely overstepping all bounds! They build everything upon slanders, intrigues and lies. Meanwhile Bulgaria's fate and that of the Bulgarian people is being decided for long years to come.

The cause of the Fatherland Front is a historic cause, the Government of the Fatherland Front is at this moment fulfilling a historic task. And those Bulgarian men and women who now undermine the unity of the Fatherland Front, the patriotic unity of the Bulgarian people – are either misled or enemies of the freedom and independence of our people. We, Bulgarians, want to settle our internal affairs by ourselves.

We want to build up the sound patriotic unity of our people, which is necessary for the solution of our home and international tasks. And if I can do something to help, I will be very happy, if our people consider it necessary and useful, to devote the last years of my life to their service.

Dear Countrymen!

Legislative elections are ahead of us. They should and will be held on November 18.

The people must have their say freely. The elections should and will consolidate the foundations of our Bulgarian democracy. This is not Soviet socialist democracy, but it is neither the false and pseudo-democracy of Moushanov. It is, should and will be a people's Fatherland Front democracy. Our people, our electors, men and women in Sofia and throughout the country, should understand in their own interest, in the interest of the people themselves,

in the interest of the country – first: that the elections will take place; second: that this government, the government headed by Mr. Kimon Georgiev, will hold the elections; third: that changes in the government, one reconstruction or another, as far as they prove necessary, will be effected by our next National Assembly.

Brawlers and foreign town criers who play to the tune of foreign music and not of the Bulgarian national bagpipe ought to understand one more thing: that the Fatherland Front is a historic necessity for Bulgaria, not for one state leader or another, not for one party or another, but for Bulgaria, that the members, supporters and sympathizers of five parties⁴⁴ are grouped in this Fatherland Front. You know that these parties have been at loggerheads in the past, that now, too, they differ on certain questions of principle. But these parties are patriotic parties, and today they are united on the basis of a common democratic platform. The internal quarrels between them about mayors, chiefs of county police headquarters, etc., are problems which these parties will solve among themselves, relying on the people's confidence and support, on the confidence and support of the workers and peasants, men and women,

of the patriotic businessmen and industrialists. It is not always easy to settle these disputes. Show me one family in which everything runs smoothly. There can be temporary disagreements even in the best families.

The Fatherland Front is composed of five parties. They can argue and can have differences. But these arguments and differences are overcome because these parties serve the common interests of the whole Bulgarian people, of the Bulgarian nation, of the Bulgarian country. This is what decides all controversial issues.

The parties of the Fatherland Front are united on the principle of a positive programme, a constructive programme and creative work. And look at the platform which unites the opposition. If there is a certain unity among them, it is on the principle of destroying the people's unity. If there is a certain unity among them, it is on the principle of negation, hatred of and hostility to the Fatherland Front, against the great historic cause of

September 9. They have no constructive programme – they have only a destructive and negative programme. If one gives them the power, which will never happen and cannot happen, because 90 per cent of the Bulgarian people, in spite of all delusions and waverings in the past, have gained enough experience not to allow this to happen, but I say, that even assuming the impossible, if they are given power, they would on the very next day seize one another by the hair and scratch out one another's eyes. In the Fatherland Front, too, there are disputes and differences of opinion, but the Fatherland Front parties do not seize one another by the hair and do not scratch out one another's eyes, but work and will work in common, because the Fatherland Front cause is a people's cause.

It is a vicious lie and slander that the communists want to take the whole power and that they have already taken the whole power and rule everywhere. It is not true that the communists want to have a one-Party government. We, our Central Committee, our whole Party, our press and I personally have many times declared that the tasks now facing our people are of such a nature, are so difficult and complex that they are not within the power of one party alone, no matter how powerful, intelligent and heroic it may be.

It is within the people's power to further this cause, which can be brought to a successful end and decided in favour of the people only with the common efforts of all patriotic strata, of all democratic forces of the people, of all democratic, progressive parties.

The Government does not consist of different governments – the government of home affairs, the government of foreign affairs, the government of national defence.... It is the Government of the Fatherland Front. If the Prime Minister is a member of the Zveno group, he is not a Prime Minister of his party, but is a Prime Minister of Bulgaria, of the Fatherland Front. If the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which is an important Ministry, is a member of the Zveno group, he is not a Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Zveno group, but a Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, of the Fatherland Front, of

the entire people. If the War Minister, who is in charge of a very important Ministry, is also a member of the Zveno group, he is a War Minister of Bulgaria, a member of the Fatherland Front cabinet; the War Ministry is not a government in the government. If the Minister of the Interior is a communist, he is also not a Minister of the Interior of the Workers' Party, he is a Minister of the Interior of Bulgaria, of the Fatherland Front. The Government of the Fatherland Front is composed of representatives of the different parties which form the Fatherland Front, but all Ministers and the Government as a whole are a Government of the Fatherland Front. A collective government is responsible for the activities of the individual ministries. There are not and there cannot be any party ministries. Whoever thinks that every party should have its own sphere of activity and be in charge as a party of one or another ministry, is bitterly deceived. Communist or Radical, Social Democrat, member of the Agrarian Union or of the Zveno group – a minister should have the businesslike qualities of a minister, should enjoy the confidence of the Government, of his own party and of the Fatherland Front. One-party government and one-party leadership of state affairs are impossible in the era of the Fatherland Front. Only a collective, democratic and patriotic leadership of our state can bring Bulgaria's salutary cause to a successful end.

The opposition was given freedom and full liberty to have its own parties. It was allowed to publish newspapers in order to spread lies and slanders. But the opposition leaders abuse this freedom. This is not liberty but licence. Those who did not utter a word under the fascist dictatorship, when the partisans were perishing in the struggle against fascism, have today opened their mouths like beasts, shedding crocodile tears that there is no freedom and no democratic guarantees in Bulgaria. They are overstepping all bounds in the country. That is why a brilliant victory of the Fatherland Front in the elections is necessary, a National Assembly is necessary so that an end may be put to irresponsibility and light-mindedness in our country.

This will not be Soviet rule, but a regime of people's democracy, of order and legality, a regime of economizing means and the people's strength, of construction, the rehabilitation of our country, and guaranteeing our national independence and our state sovereignty.

There is much talk in the cafés, and the opposition newspapers even write that such elections will not be recognized by some of the Great Powers, that Great Britain and the United States will not recognize a government formed by the future National Assembly – a government without the participation of the opposition, who were silly enough to boycott the elections. You are intelligent and educated people, you know many examples of history: there is not a single case in which anyone has benefited from not recognizing the actual facts. If any body thinks that if he does not recognize our Fatherland Front Bulgaria, our country will be the only one to suffer, he is deceived. Not only our people are interested in recognizing our democracy, but also those circles which have hitherto had some doubts and hesitations, and perhaps in some cases they may be even more interested in signing peace with Bulgaria than we are.

My conclusion therefore is: he who has ears let him hear and he who has eyes, let him see that the Fatherland Front is proceeding to the elections fully armed. There may be some elements within the Fatherland Front who are wavering, but their spirits will also be strengthened. Or, if the chariot of the Fatherland Front gathers strength, some may fall out. If they fall out, the chariot won't suffer very much from this. There are others who say that they want to return to the Fatherland Front. These people should be told that the Fatherland Front is not an inn nor a tavern in which you can go, drink your glass of brandy and go out whenever you like, and tomorrow go back again. The Fatherland Front is a historic people's movement, and one cannot play fast and loose with it. Whoever has entered it should stay firmly in it, or if he goes out, he will not be able easily to re-enter it.

Imagine these gentlemen: politicians who talk at cafés and wealthy people's houses on behalf of the people – that

the people are upset, that they do not want the Government of Kimon Georgiev, that the people want a Minister of the Interior who is not a communist! But where are these people? Big meetings take place all over the country. Not only our correspondents, but foreign ones as well, who have been witnesses are informed about them. In Karnobat, for instance, a meeting of the Fatherland Front was attended by between 60,000 and 70,000 citizens whereas the meeting of the opposition – by 2,000. This is the proportion everywhere. Where are the people then? If the opposition wanted to establish whether the people are with them or not, they ought to have taken part in the elections. Why are they running away?

The people and all our Fatherland Front parties, all of us will bring the beneficial cause of the Fatherland Front to a successful end. I, too, am ready to take part in this fight and that is the reason why I have come.

Forwards, to a brilliant and overwhelming electoral victory for the welfare of our long-suffering, but wonderful country.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 352
November 7, 1945

G. Dimitrov, Works
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TOWARDS A NATION-WIDE VICTORY OVER
REACTION AND THE ILL-WISHERS OF NEW
BULGARIA

Speech at the Pre-Election Meeting⁴⁵

November 15, 1945

Dear Countrymen!
Brothers and Sisters!
Voters!

We are now faced by a great task – to elect a genuine National Assembly on the principle of free, democratic elections which would in a legislative way consolidate the people's victories of September 9, so that the people may remain the masters of their destiny in the future as well, and not allow return to the gloomy and disgraceful fascist past.

The Fatherland Front and its Government came forward before the people with their democratic and progressive election programme. This programme corresponds to the vital interests of our people. It corresponds to the interests of the workers, peasants, craftsmen, intelligentsia, office workers, our people's army and our heroic youth; it also corresponds to the interests of those industrialists and businessmen who see their own welfare not in profiteering and robbery, but in the country's economic rehabilitation and advance.

This programme is entirely feasible, for it enjoys the active support of the majority of the people. It does not contain any empty, demagogic promises, as were made to us in the past by the pseudo-democratic and fascist rulers.

The election programme of the Fatherland Front is the only possible and nationally useful programme, under the present conditions. However, as is well known, no one has

so far come out before the people with a better and more feasible programme.

But the Fatherland Front and its Government headed by Mr. Kimon Georgiev come forward before the Bulgarian electors, men and women, not only with their election programme, but with positive and constructive actions, with achievements for the benefit of the people and the country from the historic September 9 to this day.

1. THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE FATHERLAND FRONT

Anyone who does not want to close his eyes before the facts, and is ready to call a spade a spade, cannot but acknowledge that the Fatherland Front not only saved our country from national disaster, not only safeguarded it from internecine struggles, chaos and anarchy, but in its one year rule scored a number of achievements of paramount importance, which open up a new stage in the history of our country, the period of Fatherland Front democracy.

Is it not a fact that the Fatherland Front is pursuing a firm and consistent policy of eradicating fascism and pan-Bulgarian chauvinism, loyally fulfilling the clauses of the armistice and the decisions of the Crimean Conference⁴⁶, that it disbanded the fascist organizations, repealed the reactionary fascist laws by virtue of which the people were oppressed and robbed; it put an end to the inhuman attitude towards the Jews and the other national minorities and by means of the people's court meted out just punishment to the culprits for involving Bulgaria in the predatory nazi war, to the chief stooges and agents of fascism and German aggression?

Is it not a fact that the Fatherland Front restored, confirmed and extended the democratic rights and liberties of the Bulgarian people, trampled upon for 21 years by Bulgarian fascism – the right to organization, meetings, press; that it granted full equality to women, electoral rights to the youth and servicemen; that thanks to the full freedom they were given and to the possibility of develop-

ment, all mass organizations – trade unions, co-operative, cultural, women's, youth, sports, children's, etc. – marked great progress; that the people's militia is standing ever more firmly on its feet as an organized and disciplined force; as a defender of the people's rights and liberties, of the democratic laws, that it is precisely the people's militia which preserved order and security in the country despite the unbridled slanders and instigations of the vicious opposition.

Is it not a fact that the Fatherland Front poured new blood into our army and worked energetically to make it a real people's army, politically educated, with a strong patriotic discipline, a faithful guardian of the victories of September 9, of the freedom and independence of our country; that the Fatherland Front organized and brought to a successful end our liberation struggle against the German occupiers, whereby the Bulgarian people made their contribution to the final rout of the nazi aggressors, taking their place in the ranks of the freedom-loving people fighting against fascism?

Is it not a fact that thanks to its sincere and consistent foreign policy the Fatherland Front is consolidating Bulgaria's international positions and breaking that horrible isolation to which Tsar Boris and his clique had brought it; that it won for our country the eternal friendship, fraternal aid and defence of the great Soviet Union, which was manifested in such a brilliant way during the signing of the armistice, at the Crimean, Potsdam⁴⁷ and London Conferences⁴⁸, in resuming diplomatic relations, in signing the trade agreement and in many other cases; that the Fatherland Front established most cordial friendly relations and close co-operation with new, Federative Yugoslavia; that it is systematically resuming Bulgaria's diplomatic relations with its neighbours and the European states, that it has sent a political representative to the USA and is sincerely and consistently working for the favourable settlement of the country's international situation.

Is it not a fact that the Fatherland Front is pursuing an extensive social, public health and educational policy;

that in only a year it increased the hospitals and hospital wards from 13 to 80, the beds in maternity homes from 37 to 293, of the village health centres from 290 to 880, the village district midwives from 300 to 600, district dentists from 50 to 117, kindergartens and crèches from 2,145 to 3,067; that the number of secondary schools rose by 53, and the pupils in them by 45,000; that new universities are being opened as well as new departments and the number of students has almost doubled; that a great number of evening schools have been organized; that many new theatres have been opened and symphony orchestras founded; that a great impetus has been given to amateur artistic activity and the education of the people?

Is it not a fact that it is under the Fatherland Front Government that the schism against the Bulgarian Church was lifted, and it gained its independence and international recognition, being given full scope to develop its religious activities, as well as to take part in building new, democratic Bulgaria.

Is it not also a fact that serious steps have been taken in the field of the economy to overcome the economic crisis and revive economic life; that inflation was stopped and the liberty loan effectively floated, that wholesale prices have not been increased in the last three months, whereas retail prices have been reduced by 2 per cent; that thanks to the raw materials imported from the Soviet Union the output of big industry in September this year increased by 28 per cent as compared with the pre-war year of 1939, whereas the number of workers engaged in it rose by 43,000; that this year the population received twice as many textiles as last year; that a number of measures were implemented to alleviate the situation of those who suffered from the drought, to improve the supply of the peasants with sandals, textiles, hardware, etc.?

Is it not a fact that patriotic emulation, shock-work and the movement to introduce production quotas appeared for the first time in our country, movements which are to play an important role in increasing labour productivity; that there are no strikes in our country and almost no unemployment, and an unprecedented labour enthusiasm is

observed among the workers, peasants and all working people; that the movements of the labour cultural brigades in aid of the village was launched and developed throughout the country, embracing over 250,000 workers, craftsmen, intellectuals and servicemen, rendering assistance to the countryside to the amount of over 570,000,000 leva; that in response to this movement, the movement of village brigades to render aid to the town sprang up, which is to involve no less a number of participants and render no less valuable assistance to the poor working people in towns, that as a result of this fraternal mutual assistance and friendly relations the link between the working people in town and village has never been so sound and indissoluble; that *there is no hostility* between workers and peasants, there are no disorders and clashes as in some neighbouring and more distant countries, although the embittered opposition and reactionaries are trying to cause such disorders and conflicts in every possible way but on the contrary, there is fraternal co-operation between workers, peasants, intellectuals and middle class?

Is it not a fact that thanks to the Fatherland Front the co-operative movement, which is to play an important role in the modernization and development of our small-scale farm and crafts production, was given a powerful impetus in all its branches; that the village co-operatives in particular, which, by preserving private ownership over the land and by strictly observing the principle of voluntariness, will make it possible to mechanize agriculture and apply the latest achievements of modern agrotechnical science, already number over 400, with more than 36,000 members and 150,000 ha of arable land?

And, finally, is it not a fact that the Fatherland Front, which in an unprecedentedly short time completed the construction of the Kroupnik-Koulata railway line and of the Beli Isker Dam, launched the building of the Topolnitsa, Rossitsa and Tashboaz Dams and laid the foundations of large-scale construction projects, which will give a strong impetus to the country's industrialization, electrification and land-improvement? All these, citizens, are

indisputable facts which are a great credit to the Fatherland Front and its Government.

Of course, we are still at the very beginning of the consolidation of the democratic regime and of the country's economic advance. The first resolute steps have been taken, however, to lead our country out of its grave economic and financial situation, into which the German robbers and treacherous fascist rulers had driven it, as well as to overcome the internal and international difficulties with which our people have to cope. A great deal more is to be done in this respect.

But while, with the aid of the people, the Fatherland Front and the Government are doing their utmost to steer new Bulgaria to a safe shore, reactionaries and the opposition, proceeding from their personal interests and the interests of their cliques, and availing themselves of the assistance of foreign reactionary groups, are trying by hook or by crook to check, wreck and undermine the nationally useful cause of the Fatherland Front. But for this reason mainly the indestructible patriotic unity and the constructive efforts of our whole people are all the more necessary.

II. THE FATHERLAND FRONT RULE IS A NEW, YOUTHFUL RULE

Citizens,

Pointing out these undisputed constructive actions and achievements of the Fatherland Front, we do not think that the Fatherland Front rule has not admitted errors and shortcomings. He does not err who does not work. The Fatherland Front rule is a new, youthful rule. It is a democratic rule which for the first time is wielding political power in the interests of the people. In many cases the representatives and functionaries of this rule have not yet acquired the necessary experience, but had to act in an extraordinarily difficult and complex situation, when the old, fascist government apparatus had been destroyed, and it was not possible to establish the new, democratic apparatus so easily and speedily. The errors, shortcoming and

exaggerations in this situation are a temporary phenomenon, a disease of infancy, of the growing and expanding Bulgarian democracy. The fact that a considerable part of them have already been successfully overcome, that their number is steadily decreasing and will soon be finally done away with is also a proof of this.

It may be said that these shortcomings and errors were allowed mainly along the three following lines:

1. Violation of democratic laws in certain places, expressed in arbitrary actions and disregard of the orders of the central government.

2. Certain sectarian manifestations on the part of communists in their relations with our allies; insufficient participation of the other Fatherland Front parties in the Fatherland Front committees or in the administration, as well as direct interference of Fatherland Front committees in the work of the Government. As is well known, on September 9 and immediately after, the only organized and active force in the country was the Workers' Party. That is why of necessity the communists predominated in the Fatherland Front committees and in the administration, but when the other fraternal parties of the Fatherland Front began to be organized, the communists themselves put forward the question of correcting this situation. It has now been corrected almost everywhere.

3. Setting the co-operatives certain tasks, which were beyond their capacity for the given moment, the Fatherland Front has encouraged, encouraged and will continue to encourage the co-operative movement in the future as well, but at the same time it tries to achieve harmony between state, co-operative and private initiative in order to guarantee a speedier rehabilitation of the national economy and the country's economic advance.

These exaggerations, as I already said, are being successfully overcome through the joint efforts of all Fatherland Front parties. The Fatherland Front stands for far-reaching criticism and self-criticism, it is not afraid of pointing out and of having pointed out to it all existing shortcomings.

III. WHAT DOES THE OPPOSITION REPRESENT

The opposition who seceded from the Fatherland Front are trying to take advantage of some of the latter's errors and shortcomings to justify their organization as an opposition. But it is clear to all that if it were a question of correcting such mistakes, of doing away with shortcomings and exaggerations, it is not at all necessary to leave the ranks of the Fatherland Front. If the opposition had wished to help correct possible errors and exaggerations they would have put their proposals in a positive form, with a view to correcting and eliminating these errors and exaggerations in the general interest of the whole people. But obviously the matter is quite different. They never made any positive proposals. The opposition have risen against the Fatherland Front itself, against its programme, against its cause, the cause of the Ninth of September which is beneficial for Bulgaria.

It is clear that behind the opposition parties stand the Bulgarian reactionaries who are trying to restore the past. The restoration plans of the opposition are revealed in their ruthless struggle against the Fatherland Front, their lack of a positive programme, the rejection of September 9 and the successes of the People's Government and of the new democracy.

A disunited opposition, speaking various tongues, is pitted against the Fatherland Front, united only by the desire to negate and destroy the great cause of September 9 and the unity of the Bulgarian people.

Is it by chance, for instance, that in the appeal of Petkov and Gichev, now joining forces, not a word is said about September 9 and the Fatherland Front, while at the same time an appeal is made to fight against the democratization of our country carried out by the Fatherland Front? No, this is not mere chance. An eloquent expression of the anti-popular and anti-Bulgarian nature of the two wings of the opposition – the Moushanov and Petkov wings, is the fact that they pin all their hopes of coming power exclusively on foreign interference in our internal affairs. Their anti-popular nature

is also evident from the boycott tactics to which they resort as regards the legislative elections, whose aim is to consolidate the country's internal and international situation.

Refusing to take part in the elections, having no positive programme beneficial to the people, the opposition are embarking on the road of provocations, diversionist and terrorist acts, economic wrecking, provoking unrest and disorder in the country. This is not a serious political opposition, but a rally of political, over-ambitious persons and careerists, advocates of reaction, coveting and thirsting for power.

Can Mr. Nikola Petkov, for instance, be considered as a serious and honest political figure who in the appeal for unity, signed by him, publicly renounces the historic cause of September 9 and the Fatherland Front, and who is now trying to establish an unprincipled bloc against the Fatherland Front, when until recently he swore loyalty and devotion to the Fatherland Front and the historic cause of September 9?

Here is what Nikola Petkov declared in his speech in Pazardjik on November 26, 1944:

'... Do not, as Alexander Stamboliiski would often say, burn the quilt together with the flea. Prior to September 9 the Fatherland Front was a necessity. Today it is a historic necessity. Let us guard it as the apple of our eye. Let us all think what might become of Bulgaria, of our country if we do not hold out to the end. And we shall all understand that the sacrifices and sufferings which we shall endure are necessary for the salvation of our country, to secure the future of Bulgaria.'

And in his declaration before the Congress of the Fatherland Front (March 19, 1945) he declared:

... The Bulgarian Agrarian Union *stands for the strength and cohesion of the four political organizations in the Fatherland Front*, which is a historic necessity for Bulgaria's salvation and at the same time only political force which, for the first time since the establishment of free Bulgaria, unites in the name of a clear ideological programme all working classes in the country and the honest people's intelligentsia.

We should further strengthen the inner cohesion of the Fatherland Front. And we can most successfully achieve this by strengthening the

authority and the autonomous activity of the Fatherland Front committees which constitute a strong link between the people and the Government.

Here is one more statement by Nikola Petkov, made in connection with May Day, 1945:

... Peasants and workers will swear an oath on May Day that no one will be able to disunite them and that they will do their utmost to remove once for all obstacles along the road to their fraternity and unity, and will guard the Fatherland Front and its unity as the apple of their eye.

Compare these solemn statements by Nikola Petkov with his present-day actions and you will get an idea about the true moral image of this pretender for leadership in the Agrarian Union. If for Nikola Petkov the Fatherland Front was a real historic necessity, if he had indeed considered the programme and policy of the Fatherland Front as beneficial to Bulgaria, how could his desertion from the Fatherland Front be justified and his present rapprochement with the rabid reactionaries – the enemies of democracy? Is it not clear that Nikola Petkov is now acting prompted by reasons and considerations which have nothing in common with the people's interests, with the interests of our peasants? Or take the other pretender for leadership in the Agrarian Union – Dimitar Gichev, who was condemned by the people's court. Two hours before signing the protocol for unity with Nikola Petkov, Dimitar Gichev had declared to Comrade Vassil Kolarov that, in his opinion, Nikola Petkov was working to foreign instructions, that on the day after my speech he was visited through the back door by a prominent foreign representative, who had come to give him his instructions, and that he, Dimitar Gichev, could not work jointly with such a man, and only two hours later he signed a protocol for unity with the same Nikola Petkov, whom he considers a foreign agent, and together with him comes out with an appeal to the Bulgarian peasants to fight against the Fatherland Front.

Who can consider such hypocritical people as serious and honest political figures? One must have a very low

opinion of our peasants' common sense to admit that they can follow such a leader.

The unification of the Agrarians is indeed necessary and is in the interest of our people, but this unification is possible and will be finally carried out not on the principle of renouncing the cause of September 9 and the people's democratic achievements, which is in fact the programme of the overt reactionary opposition of Moushanov and Girginov, but on the principle of recognizing this historic act by the Agrarian Union, too, which takes part in the Fatherland Front and which has remained faithful to the main bequests of the great Bulgarian statesman and leader, *Alexander Stamboliiski*.

IV. WHAT DOES THE FATHERLAND FRONT GOVERNMENT REPRESENT?

Dear Members of the Fatherland Front from towns and villages!

What does our Fatherland Front Government represent?

The people's rising of September 9, carried out under the leadership of the Fatherland Front and in the very favourable conditions created by the glorious Red Army – liberator of the nations – which routed the nazi hordes in Romania and pursued them on our territory, opened up a new era in Bulgaria's political history – the era of the Fatherland Front, of the free democratic reconstruction and development of our country.

The historic act of September 9 was prepared in the long, hard struggle against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship, in which the Bulgarian people gave big sacrifices. The Fatherland Front was born in the fire of this struggle, the brightest page of which is the glorious partisan movement. It was steeled in this struggle and grew into a powerful social and political factor, uniting all anti-fascist, national, democratic and constructive forces of our country. United in the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian people took their destiny into their own hands. That is why the Fatherland Front is for our people

a worthy leader, a leader of the new Bulgarian democratic state.

The Government formed by the Fatherland Front differs radically from all former governments. It does not represent a temporary government coalition to utilize state power for party and personal interests. The Government of the Fatherland Front is the first People's Government which unites the sound national forces of the country, relies on the people and enjoys its confidence.

The ill-wishers of our people often like to say that the Government of the Fatherland Front is a one-party government, that it represents a 'dictatorship of the communists'. It is a fact, however, that representatives of five parties take part in the Government. These parties have different platforms, but all are united on the principle of the general programme of the Fatherland Front, a programme that is democratic, progressive and anti-fascist. Moreover, it is well known that the communists have not got a majority in the Government nor a majority of candidates for national representatives in the future National Assembly. The communists have been and are in favour of a collective government and fraternal co-operation with its allies in the Fatherland Front and the Government. The communists have never exercised their 'dictatorship', do not exercise nor pretend to exercise such a dictatorship. The Fatherland Front parties have united in the Fatherland Front to rehabilitate the country economically, to cure the wounds inflicted on the people and on the country by fascism and the German highwaymen, to do away with the infamous fascist heritage and to guarantee the free, democratic development and national independence of Bulgaria. With joint efforts they are trying to solve the internal and international problems of the country in the interest of the Bulgarian people and on the principle of co-operation with all freedom-loving peoples.

Our Party and I personally have declared more than once that, standing above all group and selfish interests and considerations, the communists should always proceed from the people's vital interests in the solution of internal,

economic, public, cultural and international problems concerning the present and future of our country. Our Party and I personally have always stressed that the tasks facing our country are so difficult and complex that they are not within the forces of one party or of one strata of our people. That is why all anti-fascist democratic parties and organizations should join their efforts and the people should be united.

We stand firmly on this position and shall stand firmly on it, because we are deeply convinced that this proceeds logically from the tasks of the Fatherland Front period, which our country is undergoing at present, that it is dictated by the nation's supreme interests, by the desires and hopes of our people, of all honest, courageous and progressive people in their midst.

It is a well-known fact that we, communists, consider the implementation of socialism as the only possibility for the final liberation of the peoples from the disasters which the capitalist system of management and exploitation of labour and natural resources brings them. But we think and clearly and categorically declare that under the conditions in our country the tasks set for solution by life are of a *people's democratic character only*.

The most urgent task in the present period is to lead the country out of the hard economic situation into which fascism had pushed it. The people need a speedy rehabilitation of the economy, a rapid increase in the production of goods of prime necessity. The country needs to settle its international situation, to sign an honourable and lasting peace.

The communists are not dreamers, but real politicians. They always take into consideration real conditions and the balance of social forces. In all their actions the communists proceed from the vital interests of the people and from the country's national interests at any given moment. Moreover, the communists feel bound to speak nothing but the truth before the people. They think that it is to their credit that there is full harmony between their words and their deeds.

We declare most categorically that the vital interests of

the country and the people in the present period require the consolidation of the democratic regime by a parliament freely elected by the people. We resolutely renounce the provocative concoction spread by the vicious opposition and foreign agents that after the election Bulgaria would be included in the Soviet Union as a Soviet Republic. Together with our allies in the Fatherland Front, we stand for free, democratic and independent Bulgaria.

A no less silly, provocative and simply comic concoction is that after the elections the National Assembly would proclaim Bulgaria a Soviet Republic and the President of this Republic would be no other but Georgi Dimitrov. Those who believe in similar concoctions award themselves certificates for gullibility and political paucity.

V. CAN OUR COUNTRY BE ECONOMICALLY POWERFUL?

Their freedom-loving traditions and the country's economic structure are an eloquent proof of the democratic character of our people. But the profiteers, big exporters and parasites of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie played the role of commissioners and partners of foreign trade firms, cartels and trusts in the exploitation of the people's labour and natural resources. It was against the interests of this small group that Bulgaria should develop an industry and modern agriculture of its own. They used the money which they robbed from the people and their savings for speculation and not for the development of the country's productive forces. Thus our country remained very backward in its economic development and the people, workers and peasants were reduced to poverty.

September 9, and the Fatherland Front clipped the wings of this group of robbers. But they have not yet been completely bridled. They have raised their heads and organized a reactionary campaign against the Fatherland Front, availing themselves of the support of their political advocates within the country and of their protectors abroad. It is they who stand behind the disunited opposition, speaking many things, and use it as a tool against the

national cause of the Fatherland Front. Up to September 9 this group of profiteers formed the backbone of fascism.

This group has always tried to persuade the people that our country is small and weak and that it cannot develop its own national economy. In the mean time it is well known that there is a number of small countries, some of which even smaller than Bulgaria, like Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, which are far more advanced economically than our country.

It is a lie that we cannot have a developed industry and modern agriculture. But if we are to have it, this group of profiteers must be rendered completely harmless. Its economic sabotage and its harmful activity must be ruthlessly crushed. An end must be put to the squandering of the people's resources and to the predatory exploitation of our workers' and peasants' labour. Our village must no longer be an object of robbery and speculation; its material and cultural standards must be improved and it must be led out of the poverty and darkness in which the past reactionary regimes have held it. An end must be put to this scandalous situation: when the peasants and workers, and all honest working people work hard to produce goods, in Sofia and in the other towns scores of thousands of idlers are roaming the streets and filling the cafés and bars like harmful parasites on the backs of the Bulgarian people.

We should devote all our efforts and try rationally to use our national labour, organize our economy and trade, process and utilize our national resources, and stop using the thousands of millions of people's savings and bank credits for speculation, and then our country, though a small one, will become strong and prosperous.

VI. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FATHERLAND FRONT'S FOREIGN POLICY

Allow me, Dear Citizens, to tell you a few words about the international situation and foreign policy of the Fatherland Front.

After the victorious end of the war against Germany a

new, lasting peace among the nations is to be established. There is no doubt that the main condition for securing a lasting and genuine peace is the collaboration between the great states – the Soviet Union, the USA and Great Britain. The peoples will never forget that, in the World War which was recently ended, the Soviet Union saved mankind and civilization from ruin and destruction. The peoples will never forget that the joint efforts of the three great states – the Soviet Union, the USA and Great Britain secured the final rout of the enemy. That is why they stand firmly for co-operation between these three Great Powers now, after the war.

A great deal was done along the line of post-war co-operation. This refers above all to the Crimean Conference at which it was decided, among other things, that 'the establishment of order in Europe and the reconstruction of the national economic life should be achieved in such a way as would enable the liberated nations to destroy the last vestiges of nazism and fascism and to set up democratic institutions according to their own choice.' This also refers to the San Francisco conference⁴⁹ where the foundations of the United Nations Organization were laid. It also refers to the Potsdam Conference, at which the leaders of the three Great Powers came to an agreement on the most important problems in Europe and the whole world, and particularly on the problem of a united policy towards Germany. The decisions of the Crimean, San Francisco and Potsdam Conferences will no doubt exert a serious influence on the life of the nations in the future as well.

There are difficulties, however, which were stressed at the recent Foreign Ministers' Conference in London. On this occasion Molotov, the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared in his speech held on the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution:

'The soundness of the Anglo-American anti-nazi coalition formed during the war is being tried now. Will this coalition prove strong and capable of joint decisions under the new conditions, when new problems of the post-war

period spring up? The failure of the Five Ministers' London Conference was a warning in this respect. There were difficulties in the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition during the war, too. Though not always promptly, the coalition of the three states succeeded in finding the correct solution of the most urgent tasks in the interest of the entire anti-nazi coalition of the big and small states, taking into consideration the necessity of further strengthening co-operation between the great democratic states.'

The endeavours to preserve this co-operation, which is in the interest of the peoples, is also evident in the speeches of US Foreign Minister Burnes and of British Foreign Minister Bevin. A proof of this is also the special message to Stalin recently sent by US President Truman.

Undue importance is attached to existing differences between the Great Powers. The reaction is basing all its anti-popular plans on an eventual disintegration of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition.

We can boldly say that the present-day difficulties will also be overcome, because the peoples long for peace and are resolutely against the splitting of the great democratic coalition, which sustained all the trials of the war, and can also sustain the trials of the post-war period.

Another characteristic moment in the international situation is that in all European countries we witness the growing struggle of the masses to establish a firm democratic order and to rehabilitate the national economy of these countries on democratic principles.

Despite all the demagogy and intrigues of reaction, the democratic forces are growing, in some countries more speedily, in others more slowly, but the future belongs to them. The peoples by no means want to return to the situation of war. They stand firmly for democracy not only in words, but in deeds as well. They are decisively against every reaction, every aggression and preparation for new, predatory wars. This may also be seen from the results of the recent elections held in a number of countries.

In France the communists came out first as the strongest party of the French people. The other democratic parties have also recorded great success. The majority of

the French people are on the side of democracy. In Finland, where the democratic forces went underground recently, the Democratic Front has scored great success. In Denmark a left trend has set in. In Hungary, where reaction did its utmost to split the Democratic Front of Independence, it has been preserved and has formed a new government after the elections.

The Popular Front in Yugoslavia recorded a remarkable success. Over 90 per cent of the electors voted for the Popular Front, against the reactionary opposition, which in Yugoslavia as in our country, boycotted the elections.

More than all other peoples our people have reasons to enjoy the brilliant victory of the Popular Front in fraternal Yugoslavia. Its victory is our victory, too, because it will further consolidate our friendship, and strengthen democracy and peace in the Balkans.

A token of the times is the consolidation of friendship between the Slav countries – Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Rallied in close friendship with the great Soviet people, the peace-loving Slav nations can and will play a considerable role in the consolidation of peace in Europe and in building up a strong barrier against a possible future aggression and encroachment upon their freedom and independence.

New Bulgaria and our people have taken their place on the side of the democratic forces in the Balkans, in Europe and in the whole world.

What is our national foreign policy? It can be formulated briefly, clearly and simply as follows:

The foreign policy of new Bulgaria is a policy of peace, friendship and co-operation with all peace-loving, democratic nations. Bulgaria sincerely supports the international organization for guaranteeing peace and security, the foundations of which were laid in San Francisco.

The main trend in Bulgaria's foreign policy in the indestructible, sincere and lasting friendship with the Soviet Union, with the great Russian people, twice our liberators.

Our people are filled with deep and sincere feelings of gratitude to the fraternal Soviet people for Bulgaria's liberation from nazi oppression and for the tremendous

moral, political and material assistance which the Soviet Union has given for Bulgaria's economic rehabilitation and for the settlement of its international situation.

Our foreign policy is a policy of closest fraternal relations with new Federative Yugoslavia, of unity among the Slav peoples in defence of their freedom and independence, against every aggression. But alongside this, the Fatherland Front foreign policy is directed resolutely and consistently to establishing friendly relations with all our neighbours and with all peace-loving nations, with the peoples of the United States and Great Britain.

Fully conscious of my responsibility I take the liberty of stating that only the Fatherland Front is in a position to guarantee lasting, normal and friendly relations between Bulgaria, on the one hand, and the USA and Great Britain, on the other. Because it alone represents the great majority of the Bulgarian people, it alone can in the shortest possible time rehabilitate and consolidate the country's economy, it alone is pursuing a sincere and persistent foreign policy. By their nature and by their factional policy of intrigues the opposition groups are not in a position to establish lasting friendly relations between Bulgaria and foreign countries corresponding to the dignity and interests of the Bulgarian people on the principle of co-operation between the Great Powers and in the interest of peace in the Balkans, in Europe and in the whole world.

The sincerity of the Fatherland Front's foreign policy has been proved by its actions. And we are deeply convinced that the atmosphere of distrust which still exists in certain foreign circles as regards new, democratic Bulgaria, and which is so zealously and ruthlessly maintained by our reckless opposition, can by no means last long.

VII. WHAT TASKS ARE SET BEFORE OUR PEOPLE

Dear Voters,

Many tasks have been set before our people and the future National Assembly, but the most important of them are:

1. To lead the country out of the grave economic and financial situation in which the German agents and the people's traitors have dragged it, to rehabilitate the nation's economy and ensure the country's economic advance.

2. To raise the material and cultural standard of the people, particularly of the working class, peasants, people's intelligentsia, craftsmen, office workers and our brave army men.

3. To guarantee the national independence and state sovereignty of Bulgaria by settling its internal and international situation and the signing of an honourable peace.

Many people ask: can there be co-operation between the Fatherland Front and some non-fascist political groups and figures outside the Fatherland Front after the election of the National Assembly? I think that under certain conditions such a co-operation is not excluded, that it is possible. But this will depend above all on the conduct and actions of these groups and figures. Such a co-operation would be possible, for instance, under the following main conditions:

First. To recognize the anti-fascist people's rising of September 9, which saved the country from innumerable disasters, laid the foundations of the democratic regime and opened the road to the free, democratic development of Bulgaria.

Second. To recognize the historic necessity of the Fatherland Front as a unification of the anti-fascist, democratic forces of the people.

Third. To stop playing the role of a screen or a unifying centre of the fascist and other reactionary elements in the struggle against the Fatherland Front, and to sever relations with foreign reactionary groups.

Fourth. To be ready to work for the consolidation of the democratic parliamentary regime and for guaranteeing the national independence, national dignity and state sovereignty of Bulgaria against every foreign interference.

In solving the home and international problems of Bulgaria, we communists are ready to co-operate with all who sincerely and honestly wish to work for the building of new, democratic Bulgaria. But how can one ask us,

communists, to co-operate with groups which plot against the patriotic unity of the people; which do everything to destroy and undermine the historic liberating cause of September 9; which by hook or by crook are trying to check the country's economic rehabilitation; which hamper its complete normalization, which boycott the legislative elections, which think that the harder Bulgaria's internal and international situation is, the better it is for their factional aggressive plans; which have contacts with reactionary groups outside of Bulgaria and try to provoke foreign interference in our internal affairs; which unceremoniously and flagrantly trample upon the national dignity and honour of the Bulgarian people? How can we be expected to co-operate with them? You can judge for yourselves!

VIII. FORWARD TO A NATION-WIDE VICTORY!

Dear Countrymen!

Our folklore is rich in wise proverbs. Allow me to remind you of three of them, which for us, Bulgarians, are of particular significance.

The first is: *The vineyard wants work, not prayers!*

The second is: *As you make your bed, so must you lie on it!*

And the third is: *Unity is strength!*

But in modern language, in the language of the present-day internal and international situation, these proverbs have the following meaning for the Bulgarian people:

First: *Work, work and only work*, productive and socially useful work!

Second: *Confidence, firm confidence in our own people's strength!*

Third: *Indestructible people's unity against fascism*, against the ill-wishers of our country at home and abroad; sound people's unity to build a free, independent, democratic and powerful Bulgaria!

There is not and there can be no force which can deflect our people from the Fatherland Front, the only correct and beneficial road for them. Our people know that one

weak element or another, who are afraid of difficulties, can eventually drop out of the Fatherland Front, but the Fatherland Front exists and will continue to exist, and more and more honest anti-fascist patriotic forces of our nation will join its ranks. The Bulgarian people are firmly resolved to face all inevitable difficulties, privations and sacrifices *today*, but to consolidate their freedom and independence at all costs and guarantee their *future* prosperity and happiness. They know all too well that there is not and there can be no other social and political force besides the Fatherland Front which can firmly and confidently take the lead of the democratic re-organization, economic rehabilitation and development of the country and which can favourably settle its international situation. The Bulgarian people have suffered a great deal from mercenary rulers and foreign agents, and have too much bitter experience from the past to allow their destinies to slip from their sturdy and hard-working hands under any pressure. They pass over with contempt the intrigues and provocations of bankrupt politicians, avid for power and wealth, of all kinds of courtiers, servants of the tsarist personal regime and advocates of fascism and reaction, who do not want to reconcile themselves to the fact that the old, fascist Bulgaria no longer exists after September 9, and that there is a new, democratic Bulgaria in which the people rule and not the royal court clique.

I wish to address a warm appeal to the electors from all over the country and particularly to the women of town and countryside, to the youth, officers and soldiers, who will vote for the first time in these elections.

Do your sacred duty with dignity, cast your ballot for the beneficial cause of the Fatherland Front for your own welfare, for the prosperity of our wonderful country!

Forward, to a nation-wide victory over reaction and the ill-wishers of new Bulgaria!

Long live the militant anti-fascist patriotic unity of our people!

Long live friendship between workers and peasants!

Long live the Fatherland Front!

Long live free, independent, powerful and democratic

Bulgaria and its brave, hard-working and freedom-loving people!

Eternal glory to the heroes fallen in the struggle for the freedom and honour of our country!

The cause of the Fatherland Front is a cause of the people. It is a just cause and will triumph in spite of everything! (Stormy and prolonged applause and cheers of approval which do not cease for a few minutes. All stand up and applaud Comrade Georgi Dimitrov for long.)

Slightly abridged

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THE FATHERLAND FRONT – MAINSTAY AND MOTIVE FORCE

*From the Concluding Speech before the 9th Plenary Session of
the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Com-
munists)*

December 14, 1945

You are well aware that the decisions taken at our session today are of exceptionally great general political and inner Party significance. The convening of the National Assembly, the work which it has to do and the importance attached to it pose a number of questions to us in connection with the implementation of these decisions. We should not forget that as a popular movement the Fatherland Front, its National Committee and its local committees are the mainstay and the motive force of both our National Assembly and Government and of our entire democratic development. We should not allow any slackening in the work of the Fatherland Front Committees under the pretext that we now have a National Assembly, because in our present condition this would be a serious setback. This would bring grist to the mill of reaction. This would reflect on the spirit of the masses and may, if we allow it, undermine the positions of the Fatherland Front as a basic social and political leading force of our people. On the contrary, the activity of the National Committee of the Fatherland Front and all its local committees should be stepped up and they should acquire their proper meaning. The main task of the National Committee and the local committees of the Fatherland Front will be to preserve, maintain and develop not only co-operation between the parties which take part in them, but also the unity of the masses, of the people in town and countryside, in factories and fields, throughout the whole country.

The first and foremost task of the National Committee and the local committees of the Fatherland Front is to safeguard and consolidate the people's unity, against reaction, to secure the liberty and democracy of our country.

The second urgent task is to undertake initiatives of a practical nature, to mobilize the masses for creative work on the implementation of the Fatherland Front programme. What we set forth as tasks in our press (the question of heating, forage and a number of other concrete practical objectives) must also be the tasks of the Fatherland Front committees. We rely on the useful and fruitful work of the present National Assembly. We must not forget, however, that what we mainly rely on are the people, the Fatherland Front and ourselves as a party of the working people. Proceeding from this we should neither under- or overestimate our work in Parliament but should always remember that the roots of the people's forces are outside the National Assembly.

The National Assembly is a representative, legislative body. It cannot assume the functions of the Fatherland Front which is the leader of our people's destinies. We should devote serious thought to the implementation of those undertakings, which would further consolidate the organs of the Fatherland Front. As a rule, these organs are still feeble and not consolidated. Even their maintenance has not yet been determined in principle. Their composition in a number of places is unsatisfactory. Of course, we cannot leave things as they are. Steps should be taken so as to stabilize not only the National Committee, but also the committees in town and countryside as people's organs, which take initiatives, mobilize, control and work. This task has not been definitely resolved. Basing ourselves on our experience and learning from our numerous errors and shortcomings, we should implement a series of practical undertakings with a view to definitely solving this task.

The second question, on which I will take the liberty of saying a few words, is the question of our relations with our allies. I am not going to repeat what has already been said here, but we all have to underscore and understand

that we are a ruling party. There are still comrades who do not take into account that fact that we, as a ruling party, which represents the working class and the working masses, bear the greatest responsibility for the destinies of our people and our country. Moreover, we are a ruling party, but not the only one. We are ruling together with other parties with which we are in alliance in the Fatherland Front. We cannot do without them, just as they cannot do without us. At the present stage collective rule is necessary and inevitable. If we have to work with our allies on the implementation of a common programme corresponding to our people's vital interests, we shall also have to learn to work reasonably with them. We should accept them as they are and not as we would wish them to be. They cannot always act and behave like us, communists. Agrarians, Zveno members, social democrats, radicals – those are all our allies in the Fatherland Front, but both their party programmes and their mentality and aspirations do not always coincide with ours. And this we should always bear in mind. There are wicked elements who undermine the unity of the Fatherland Front and are in general against co-operation with the communists. But the majority stand for this co-operation.

The attitude which we assume towards our allies depends on whether they are for the unity of the Fatherland Front and for co-operation with our party, or are people who, for one reason or another, are against it. This is the dividing line. We shall continue to work with those who stand for co-operation, regardless of all their shortcomings, and will be against those who are opposed to this co-operation and to the Fatherland Front.

It should be understood that the unity of the Fatherland Front must be guarded and consolidated to the maximum. It is necessary to establish close Fatherland Front unity in the army, in the countryside, among the intelligentsia and in the state apparatus. Only dreamers, incorrigible sectarians, anarchists, Trotskyites and other foreign elements, who have slipped into our party, can maintain the opposite. Co-operation presupposes mutual concessions, but within the framework of the implementation of the

Fatherland Front programme in a spirit of approval of our people's further advance, and not of their return to the past. Concessions cannot be made along the general line of the Fatherland Front. Co-operation presupposes mutual criticism and self-criticism. In the press and in private talks we should, of course, mainly criticize the attempts of different speculators who wish to take advantage of their official position and of the Fatherland Front Government to the detriment of the people. This criticism will not and cannot break our co-operation.

Particularly important is the role played by our Party in the Fatherland Front. It must be a party of honest elements devoted to the working class and the people.

The Party should always raise the ideological and political level of its cadres and members. It should rally its ranks more closely hitherto, because a great part of its members are new and have from now on to be united into a monolithic mass in the Party.

It is particularly important for us to devote every effort to educating cadres, to training specialists – people who are well acquainted with economic questions, others with military questions and yet others with education – efficient cadres, who wish to study and improve themselves. We have to learn to govern the state. In the past we were oppressed and never had the opportunity of acquiring this skill. We have to learn to build because in the past we were builders, to learn to organize and manage enterprises, departments, etc. We have to be able to raise our country's cultural standards, we have to have capable and developing cadres, not cadres who cannot stand any criticism when they make mistakes, but people ready to listen to friendly party criticism and who, from dawn till dusk, improve their knowledge, constantly learning and marching ahead. In our Party we cannot stand chatter-boxes and phrasemongers in responsible posts. Our Party has no use for fussy and bragging people. At the present crucial moment we need men of action, constructive, diligent and thinking people. We need cadres that are loyal to the Party, devoted to their people and looking ahead to the future. In our Party we cannot stand people

who are susceptible to corruption we cannot stand them whatever post they may occupy and whatever their rank may be. We have to get rid of the rotten elements, to throw them out of the Party and deliver them to the courts. A strict, I would even say, a ruthless Bolshevik attitude is what we need in this connection, so as to safeguard our Party against harmful influences. Our enemies are sly in offering bribes, demoralizing and trying to find the weaknesses of individual comrades, in ministries, departments and elsewhere. The reactionaries flatter, directly or indirectly, offer bribes and try to demoralize. An iron barrier has to be raised in defence of the Party.

There is yet another danger for us as a ruling party. Our enemies, who are unable to attack us directly, are trying with demagogic, leftist slogans to win over stooges, to have their own agents in our country so as to undermine the Party from within.

Against this danger we have to develop and strengthen Party morals and Party discipline and to guard the honour of the Party like the apple of our eye. There is no graver crime for a Party member than that of soiling himself and the Party. Iron discipline is necessary, strict fulfilment of the Party decision and subordination of private interests to the common interests of the Party.

We must strengthen the moral and political unity of our Party. Our Party cannot suffer any anti-party factions, groups and groupings under any guise whatsoever.

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THE CAUSE OF SEPTEMBER 9 IS A HISTORIC CAUSE

Speech in the National Assembly

December 25, 1945

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives,

The first words to be spoken from this rostrum when we start the debates on the speech from the throne, cannot but express our profound, nation-wide gratitude to the countless men, women and youths who, in the course of two decades, fought bravely against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship, to the glorious men and women partisans and courageous patriots in the Bulgarian Army, who won the victory of the people's uprising on September 9, 1944. Our people will never forget their heroes who fell in the struggle for our country's freedom, honour and independence. It is their bright memory and their heroic example that will inspire and teach our country's growing generations.

The September 9 uprising, as was justly pointed out in the speech from the throne, was a historic event. Organized and led by the Fatherland Front, it saved our country from an impending national disaster, and our people from irreparable calamities and sufferings. If in the first days of September those rulers, who were doing their level best to save the old, rotten regime, had remained in power, Bulgaria, as a German satellite, would have inevitably suffered the consequences of the latter's terrible defeat. The historic act of September 9 saved us from this tragic and shameful fate. With an iron broom the people swept away from the territory of Bulgaria the perfidious, anti-popular fascist government, and established their own, people's Fatherland Front rule. Bulgaria resolutely joined the side of the anti-nazi coalition and took an active part in the final destruction of the sworn Teutonic enemy of Slavdom

and of all progressive mankind. The stain left on our nation's fair name by monarcho-fascism and our fascist rulers – foreign agents and traitors to the people – was washed away at the cost of many sacrifices and much bloodshed.

September 9 ushered in a new era in our history – the era of genuine democracy and of the Fatherland Front. This new era is characterized not only by the fact that an old fascist government was replaced by a new, democratic government. Superficial people are in general inclined to see only this change. In fact, on September 9 not only a change of government was effected, but also a far reaching change in the regime.

True, our social system remained, as hitherto, a system based on the principle of private ownership, and that is why we still have the former social classes and strata with their peculiar interests. But within the framework of this social order, a new, democratic system is being established instead of the fascist regime. A radical change is being effected in the balance of social forces and the role they play in the state, as well as in our country's public, political, economic and cultural life. The most characteristic feature of this change is the fact that the people's rising wrested the state power from the hands of the profiteering, predatory and big capitalist groups united around the court and the court clique, and indissolubly linked with German imperialism, to place it in the hands of the people, of their historic Fatherland Front, i.e. in the hands of the militant alliance of the working class, peasants, craftsmen and people's intelligentsia. It is with this alliance that the progressive part of our industrialists and businessmen are marching. The helm of our government has passed into the hands of new strong and creative social forces.

New men, men of the people, are now at the head of our government. For their devoted service to the people most of these men were cruelly persecuted in the past by the former reactionary and fascist regimes. In the prisons and concentration camps, in the partisan detachments or as underground functionaries, enduring indescribable privations and sufferings, they steeled their will still

further, their patriotism and their resolve to work and fight for the prosperity of the people and the advance of Bulgaria. In the government of the state, as well as in the Fatherland Front bodies and its parties, there has been an influx of new, capable men, who hate the old incapable and anti-popular regime and are now ready to devote their energies and capacities to new, democratic Bulgaria. Many people – men, women and youths, who were stifled by the old regime, stirred to active political life, and are engaging in useful activities.

Thus, our state government now has a new, people's democratic character. Instead of being an instrument of oppression for the masses, that robs their labour, the new government is a people's government called upon to serve the people and only the people. Its task is to secure our people's rights and liberties by guaranteeing the work, bread, clothing and homes, to bring the necessary democratic changes to their logical conclusion, to act in every way for the restoration and development of the national economy along democratic lines, in favour of the people and not of individual exploiter and parasitic groups, firms and trusts. Last but not least, of course, the people's government is called upon to create the necessary conditions for lasting, constructive labour on the part of the people, instead of allowing the people's energies and resources to be used for participation in predatory and adventurist wars.

It is obvious that there is a big chasm between monarcho-fascist Bulgaria and new, democratic Bulgaria, Bulgaria of the Fatherland Front. After September 9 the social and economic structure of our country was changed. Other factors, people's factors have come to the fore. Bulgaria has embarked on and developing along an entirely new road – a road of democracy, not formal and false, but actual democracy. The two great productive forces – workers and peasants, and their indissoluble friendship constitute the strong backbone of this democracy. Fascist, parasitic and reactionary elements can no longer play a decisive role in the country. It is not their will, it is not their rude, selfish interests of their protectors abroad, but

the will and the interests of the people, the country's national and state interests that have become a supreme and inviolable law in our public, political economic and cultural life, and in our national foreign policy.

At present we have a new state, which is being built up and consolidated as a people's democratic state.

Herein lies the historic significance of the Ninth of September. It is not enough to acknowledge and praise this significance: it must be properly understood, so that the respective practical conclusions may be drawn about the democratic development and prosperity of our country.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

Everyone of you knows very well that many more Augean stables have to be cleaned to make our country a fully democratic state. Everything that is rotten and that has accumulated in the state apparatus and in our social, economic and cultural life in the course of decades, cannot be swept away at one go. A number of links in the state machinery are rusty and do not meet the needs of our new times and the tasks set by them. The roots of bureaucracy and corruption, inherited from the past have struck deep and they have to be cut off. Much will still have to be done so that our industrialists and businessmen should not be guided solely by their own private interests in their dealings with the state. It is also imperative for the masses definitely to overcome their former negative attitude towards the state, which was fully justified under the fascist regime, but which is quite out of place, as regards the present, non-fascist, and our own, Fatherland Front state.

The Fatherland Front has ruled the country for a bare 15 months, a term not at all long. This it has done under exceptionally difficult domestic and international conditions, which it inherited from the fascist regime. The Fatherland Front and its government also had to cope, as you know, with the constant and vicious attacks and intrigues of reactionaries both at home and abroad. In spite of all this, it is an indisputable fact that the Fatherland Front and its government have restored, consolidated and expanded the rights and liberties of the people, introduced

complete civic equality for the Bulgarian women, secured electoral rights for our youth, made possible the successful participation of our Army and our people in the great patriotic war for the rout of nazi Germany; that it prevented the country from plunging into economic ruin, saved the population from starvation, despite the criminal despoliation by the Germans of our national wealth, and despite this year's severe drought, averted the danger of disastrous inflation and stabilized the Bulgarian lev at a satisfactory level.

It is also an indisputable fact that the Fatherland Front and its government succeeded in rousing the labour enthusiasm, constructive forces and initiative of the people in town and countryside, and recorded a significant advance in the restoration of the national economy, as well as in the field of our social, public health, educational and cultural policy.

Finally, it is a big and positive achievement of the Fatherland Front and its government that they led our country out of the position of terrible international isolation, into which the fascist and pro-German regime had thrust it, broke the ice which surrounded Bulgaria on all sides, and cleared the road to a definite and favourable settlement of her international situation, so that she might take an honourable place in the family of freedom-loving nations.

Today it may be said without any exaggeration that at the hardest and most critical moments the Fatherland Front and its government succeeded in steering the Bulgarian ship between the hidden rocks of Scylla and Charybdis and that we have all grounds to believe that they will definitely bring it safely to shore.

The legislative elections of November 18, held in exemplary order, unprecedented in our political history, and without any disturbance whatsoever, enabled the Bulgarian electorate to manifest their will. And the vast majority of our people manifested their will in an indisputable and categorical manner, unreservedly approving the victory of September 9, as well as the programme and policy of the Fatherland Front. The elec-

tion of the present truly national Assembly, such as Bulgaria has never had so far, is yet another advance in consolidating our country's domestic and international situation, and the Assembly's activity in favour of the people will undoubtedly further consolidate the positions of the Fatherland Front government.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

The radical renovation of our country which was started on September 9, as was correctly pointed out in the speech from the throne, has not yet been completed. And precisely with a view to consolidating and definitely clearing the road to the country's further democratic development in its economic, social and cultural policy, as well as in our international relations, a Grand National Assembly should be convened, so that the social and political changes accomplished hitherto may be sanctioned by the Bulgarian Constitution, and that the necessary constitutional and material guarantees may be created against any return to the shameful and cursed past.

In the first place, the stipulations in the present Constitution which make possible the conclusion of treaties and alliances behind the people's back and against their will, aimed at involving our country in military adventures must be done away with. The stipulations which make it possible for a minority of predatory elements and big capitalists to keep in subjection, oppress and rob the majority of the people must also be abolished. The Constitution should sanction the equality of the Bulgarian woman and the rights of our youth as well as those of servicemen. At the same time, of course, we should do away with the institution of the monarchy (Very prolonged and stormy applause. All national representatives, the ministers and members of the Bureau of the National Assembly rise and applaud continuously. Cries of 'Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria!' 'Long live the Republic!' are heard from all parliamentary groups) ... we should do away with the monarchy... which has always been a centre uniting the reactionaries in order to trample underfoot the people's rights and liberties and use the people's forces for predatory and adventurist wars. This is still more justified in our con-

ditions, when we take into consideration the fact that the Coburg dynasty, headed by Tsar Ferdinand in the past and by Tsar Boris later, has always been an agency of German imperialism. The anti-popular policy pursued by this dynasty has cost our country two national disasters, and brought it to the verge of a third disaster from which the people's rising of September 9, 1944 barely managed to save it.

Which sober-minded Bulgarian who truly loves his country can now raise a voice in defence of the monarchy and the Coburg dynasty? (Applause and cries of 'No one!', 'No one!')

It will not be superfluous, in this connection, to recall the programme of the Fatherland Front published in the summer of 1942 and unanimously adopted by all anti-fascist, democratic forces in our country. In enumerating the measures, whose implementation could save Bulgaria, the programme of the Fatherland Front contained the following concluding passage:

The implementation of these tasks which are essential for our people, calls for the establishment, as soon as possible, of a truly national government, capable of resolutely and consistently pursuing the beneficial policy of the Fatherland Front. That is why the Fatherland Front sets as the most immediate goal of its struggle the overthrow of the present treacherous and anti-popular, fascist government and the establishment of a genuine Bulgarian government. Relying on the will and support of the entire Bulgarian people, that government will also prepare the conditions for the convening of a Grand National Assembly, which will determine Bulgaria's future form of government and create the necessary constitutional and material guarantees for the freedom, independence and prosperity of our country.

Today the question of a truly people's democratic Constitution has so come to a head in our people's consciousness that the transformation of Bulgaria into a People's Republic with a parliamentary system of government can meet with no serious objection. And the future Grand National Assembly will acquit itself with honour of its historic role by proclaiming Bulgaria such a people's republic (Stormy and prolonged applause. All ministers and the Bureau of the national representatives rise to their

feet and applaud. Cheers on all sides 'Long live the People's Republic!', 'Bravo!').

Ladies and Gentlemen National ~~Representatives!~~

Much has been done since September 9 to do away with the fascist regime. But it would be wrong to think that the fascist danger has been definitely and irrevocably removed for our people and country. Those who maintain that after the severe but just punishment meted out by the people's court to the ring-leaders of fascism and the people's traitors, fascism in our country no longer exists, are doing our people a disservice. It is harmful to close our eyes to the fact that there are still reactionary forces inside the country which support fascism, of course, not openly, but under different, more or less disguised forms.

There are also reactionary circles abroad who are interested in the revival of fascism. The exploiter and predatory elements still hold important economic positions in their hands and are in contact with international reaction. It is precisely these elements that are again creating a political representation of their own in the different opposition groups. They recruit highly-paid lawyers in defence of their exploiter and black-market deals. With a view to exercising influence in their favour amid certain circles, and in particular on the wavering circles of the intelligentsia, they are trying in every way to take advantage of the daily difficulties in supply and in the economy in general, which our people now have to endure. They spare no effort to hinder the normalization of the country's domestic and international situation. As it lacks the people's support, reaction acts subversively, perpetrating economic wrecking, organizing terrorist gangs, preparing terrorist and diversionist actions, and acting in concert with Bulgaria's enemies abroad. The vicious, unbridled opposition press serves as its legal tribune, and is a hotbed of confusion and malignancy. That is why, what we need is not to be put to sleep, but to be vigilant, constantly vigilant and watchful so as to be able to put up a decisive resistance!

What should we do in order to eradicate the survivals of the fascist regime, to prevent the revival of fascism and

definitely to consolidate the new democratic system in our country?

First, we should rally still more closely all anti-fascist, democratic and progressive social forces in the Fatherland Front as the only social and political organization capable of guaranteeing our people the possibility of remaining in all circumstances masters of their own destinies.

Second, we should implement an economic policy which would remove profiteering and parasitic capital from our economic and public life, and would effectively encourage the patriotic industrialists and businessmen who are taking part in the rehabilitation in good faith of our economy; an economic policy of this kind, that would systematically develop and stabilize the state and co-operative sector in our national economy with a view to accelerating the country's economic development and rapidly improving the material and cultural standards of the working population in town and countryside.

To encourage healthy private initiative in the field of industry, the crafts, trade and agriculture, planning on the widest possible scale should be introduced in the development of the different branches of production, and in the processing and utilization of all surface and underground national resources. Moreover, the state should play not only the role of a regulating and controlling factor in our economy, it should also expand its own economic functions and take into its own hands all big economic initiatives of nation-wide significance, which, in their nature and scope, are obviously beyond the possibilities of private initiative.

To develop our fragmented and small-scale agriculture, the state should not only render assistance to the diligent farmers but should also see to the development, on the principle of voluntary co-operation, of producers' co-operatives which will provide ample opportunity for the introduction of modern farm machinery and the extensive application of scientific methods in agriculture. The implementation of thoroughly studied and carefully prepared agrarian reforms, as well as the securing of fair prices for agricultural produce will undoubtedly exert a favourable

influence on helping the Bulgarian villages out of the poverty and ignorance in which they were kept by the former regimes, and will also help the farmers to get rid of the despoilers and robbers of the fruits of their labour.

Third, we should firmly maintain the indissoluble link between the Fatherland Front, the Fatherland Front National Assembly and the Fatherland Front Government and their constructive practical work for the all-round consolidation of the democratic regime in the country, for a steady political education of the people and of their young generation in particular in a democratic spirit, for the satisfaction of the vital needs of the urban and rural population, for leading our country out of the economic and financial deadlock into which it was thrust by the former fascist regime and for raising new Bulgaria's economic, political and national might.

At the same time it should not be forgotten that the National Assembly, the government and the people's rule in Fatherland Front Bulgaria come from the people, rely on the people and draw their forces from the people's masses and their political parties and public organizations, united in the Fatherland Front.

At the present historical stage, no real freedom, no real democracy, no possibility for the Bulgarian people to be masters of their own destinies could ever be secured without the Fatherland Front, and our country's national independence and state sovereignty could never be guaranteed.

Without the Fatherland Front the reactionary parasitic strata in our country could take advantage of their economic position, their capital and wealth and their connections with foreign trusts and concerns, with a view to attempting to impose their rule on the people and thrusting back the country's development.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

The government of the Fatherland Front, as was pointed out in the speech from the throne, has undoubtedly done much in the interest of the people and the country. It has taken steps to alleviate the situation of the working

masses in town and countryside. But their situation continues to be very grave.

We must never forget, however, that the people's rule differs and must differ from the fascist reactionary rule, mainly in that it not only guarantees the people's rights and liberties, but also constantly looks after the basic productive strata of the people – the working class, peasants and craftsmen – doing its utmost to achieve a maximum improvement of their material and cultural standards and a better life for them above all.

To this end the National Assembly, as well as the government and all Fatherland Front bodies, should undertake the most resolute, prompt and concrete measures to supply the population with coal, foodstuffs and clothing, the cattle – with forage, the farms – with seeds, fertilizers, agricultural machines, the craftsmen and industry – with raw materials; measures must be put in hand to raise the cultural standards of our countryside; to improve the public health system, to protect mothers and children, to develop education; to improve social legislation and the safety of labour.

To this end, all local possibilities and resources must be utilized, the initiative of the population, of all public and cultural organizations and trade unions must be developed, and the people's labour correctly utilized.

The material standards of industrial and office workers which continue to be poor must also be improved. A serious and lasting increase in labour productivity, which is so necessary for the rehabilitation of our national economy, is unthinkable without such an improvement.

The state services must be reorganized and all redundant and superfluous institutions and posts must be done away with. The state apparatus must be simplified and made less expensive. Some ministries as, for instance, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry must be reorganized and industry, the mines and power production should be set up as separate ministries.

A strict regime of economies must be introduced as soon as possible – economy of materials, of electric power, of funds. The existing capital and people's savings must be

used only for productive purposes useful to the people and not for speculation and the illegal accumulation of wealth.

A resolute struggle must be waged against bureaucracy which kills every initiative and hinders the rational utilization of labour and the country's resources. Profiteering and corruption of any kind should be mercilessly scourged, especially in a number of economic departments and establishments.

At the same time, strict legislative and other measures should be taken to eradicate any economic wrecking, any manifestation of disorganization in the state apparatus, in economic life, in transport and trade. A task which cannot be put off is to draw all men and women in our country into socially useful work, by clearing the towns of idlers and parasitic elements who only waste the people's means and introduce corruption in society.

We are faced with the task of drafting the budget, which must be a truly people's budget, real and corresponding to the financial possibilities of the different strata of our people and to the real needs of our national economy.

In this connection, the system of taxation has to be changed, with a view to implementing the fairest possible distribution of the burden of taxes, so that the main part of this burden may fall on the shoulders of the wealthier strata of our society.

All this is included in the Fatherland Front programme, the rapid and successful implementation of which is justly awaited by our people.

But the implementation of the Fatherland Front programme presupposes, besides everything else, the availability of trained leading cadres in all fields of state, economic and cultural development. That is one of the greatest concerns of our government, and the National Assembly will have to secure ample possibilities for the training of such cadres. Fatherland Front Bulgaria is in need of new detachments of engineers, technicians, doctors, medical orderlies, midwives, agriculturalists, teachers, judges, etc., administrative and cultural workers. And one of the foremost tasks of our general educational, trade and other special educational establishments and of our

universities is: to gear educational and teaching curricula to this purpose and to train those cadres.

Our educational establishments must turn out civil servants educated in a democratic spirit, and at the same time well-trained specialists in their respective fields. Bulgaria must have a diligent, highly qualified intelligentsia, profoundly devoted to its people. Without such an intelligentsia our country cannot march onward along the road of progress. The people value their intelligentsia highly and love it. They are proud of the tremendous role which the people's intelligentsia played in achieving the victory of September 9 and which it continues to play in the building up of new Bulgaria. They request and they are right to request of all workers in the field of science, culture and the arts not to succumb to the temptation offered by reaction, but devotedly to do their patriotic duty to our people and country.

It is particularly important to point out that in taking their decisions the National Assembly, the government and the organs of the Fatherland Front should proceed not from the selfish group interests of a minority of wealthy people, but from the interests of the vast majority of our people. If there is any contradiction between the interests of the minority and those of the vast majority of our people, a distinct preference should be shown to the interests of our people, national economy and our popular state. This guiding principle should also be followed strictly in the distribution of the existing material wealth and of all reserves which are vitally necessary for our population in town and countryside.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

In the speech from the throne due and well-deserved gratitude was expressed to all servicemen in the Bulgarian army for their efforts and sacrifices in the patriotic war, which our people waged against the German occupiers.

We bow to the memory of the heroes who fell on the battlefields for our country's honour, freedom and independence. I should add that this is the first time that our army has enjoyed the real gratitude and boundless love of our people.

In the past our army was a tool in the hands of the monarch and the court clique, and was often used by them for anti-popular purposes. It was precisely the monarch and the court clique who soiled its honour and forced it to play the role of a gendarme of the nazi gangsters in the Balkan Peninsula against our Yugoslav brothers. Our Minister of War was perfectly right in stating recently that 'one of the reasons for our national disaster was the fact that the army was only a tool in the hands of the dynasty which did not serve the Bulgarian people, but foreign interests, that our army will always march together with the Bulgarian people, and that it will serve the idea of eternal friendship with the great Russian people, to maintain fraternal relations with new Yugoslavia and good relations with its neighbouring countries and the great democratic countries.

The Fatherland Front saved the army from the shame of being subordinated to the Germans, from a fratricidal war and from being placed in the service of the dire enemies of all Slav peoples. It saved it from inevitable corruption and ruin. As is now acknowledged by all, the Fatherland Front alone was capable of reorganizing and renewing our army, and of turning it into a people's army which immediately after September 9, 1944 aimed its weapons against the German hordes. It not only succeeded in repulsing these hordes from our western boundaries but in carrying out shoulder to shoulder with the invincible Red Army important military operations for the final defeat of the common enemy.

Much was done after September 9, to renew, reorganize and politically and militarily consolidate our army. But there is still a lot of persistent work to be done so that it may turn into a genuine people's army, a steeled and unflinching defender of the Bulgarian people's freedom and national independence. It is necessary, above all, to educate our servicemen in a spirit of selfless love for our country and people, and the noble cause of the Fatherland Front. Regardless of their rank and the group which they support, there is no room in the ranks of our army for chiefs and commanders who undermine its unity

and hamper the growth of its fighting efficiency. Our army needs devoted people's commanders, constantly improving their military skill, and respected and loved by the soldiers under their command.

As is well known after September 9, 1944 many gifted officers, dismissed from the army under the former fascist regime, as well as commanders of partisan detachments joined the corps of officers in the army. It is an important task to create the necessary atmosphere of cohesion, mutual confidence, respect and co-operation between these officers and the remaining part of the corps of officers. The fighting capacity and discipline of our army greatly depend upon the patriotic unity of the corps of officers.

Much attention should also be paid to the improvement of the military and political training of the non-commissioned officers who stand closest to the mass of soldiers.

Under the guidance and with the support of the Minister of War, the officers, to whom the political education of the army has been entrusted, should engage in systematic work to educate our soldiers in a democratic spirit, in a spirit of strict observance of discipline and devotion to the art of war, also availing themselves to this end of the wealth of experience gained by the assistant commanders during the Patriotic War.

There can be no doubt that the National Assembly and the Government will spare no effort to secure material and cultural conditions for our servicemen corresponding to their lofty vocation.

Today people and army are united. There should no longer be any force against the people, as often happened in the past. The army, as a people's army, serves and must serve our democratic people. It is only then that it will be able successfully to fulfil its exceptionally important role as a loyal guardian of Bulgaria's freedom and independence.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

Hitherto, Bulgaria has not had a consistent national foreign policy of her own. During our country's more recent political history, in spite of temporary deviations, the general line of Bulgaria's foreign policy was placed at the

service of German imperialism, which systematically pursued the implementation of its policy of *Drang nach Osten*. This was a line of enmity between Bulgaria and her neighbours, a line of pitting Bulgaria against her liberator — great Russia. This was an implementation of the Machiavellian principle of the Prussian barons and Junkers: divide and rule! Pan-Bulgarian chauvinism, pan-Greek chauvinism, pan-Serbian chauvinism and other chauvinistic trends in the Balkans were widely used to this end. The attempt of the great Bulgarian statesman Alexander Stamboliiski to change that line of our foreign policy, as you all know, ended in the forceful overthrow of his government and with the criminal murder of Stamboliiski himself. No more successful was also the attempt of the government of Mr. Kimon Georgiev in 1934, which was overthrown in a very short time by Tsar Boris and his clique.

Was it not the same foreign policy, alien to the Bulgarian people, a policy of Bulgarian chauvinism, which set us against our great liberator? Who can deny the fact that whenever Bulgaria moved away from great Russia she suffered only defeats and disasters? Who can deny that now again in the last World War, despite all provocations of the fascist rulers, no one but the Russian people, the Soviet Union helped us, Bulgarians, in every way to rid ourselves of the shameful and unnatural alliance with Nazi Germany? Was it not the glorious Red Army which, after routing the German forces in Romania, helped us to win the historic victory of the September 9 People's Rising? The speech from the throne rightly pointed out that

The Government of the Soviet Union first among the signatories of the cease-fire agreement established diplomatic relations with Bulgaria, and at the hardest moment for our economy was the first to conclude trade agreements with Bulgaria whereby it made a great and prompt contribution in helping Bulgaria's economy and alleviating our people's hard plight.

The Fatherland Front put an end to this alien and anti-popular foreign policy.

It resolutely rejected the policy of the vicious pan-

Bulgarian chauvinism, the main reason for our national disasters.

The foreign policy of the Fatherland Front is a genuine national Bulgarian policy.

It proceeds from Bulgaria's real national interests. It takes into account the bitter experience of the past when the question of Macedonia was used by the foreign imperialists and their Balkan agents among the ruling cliques to set Bulgarians against Serbians and Serbians against Bulgarians. The Fatherland Front thinks that we must do our level best so that Macedonia should cease once and for all to be an apple of discord in the Balkans and have it become a uniting link between Bulgarians and Serbians, between new Bulgaria and new Yugoslavia. Relations between Fatherland Front Bulgaria and the Yugoslav Federative People's Republic, between these two neighbouring Slav countries are so fraternal that they have the ample opportunity of resolving by themselves, without any foreign interference, all questions affecting their national interests. Thus, the foreign policy of the Fatherland Front is radically different from the fascist foreign policy pursued prior to September 9, 1944. It is a policy of eternal friendship with the great Russian people, with the Soviet Union and a policy of indissoluble fraternal co-operation with the peoples of new Yugoslavia and the other Slav nations.

The foreign policy of the Fatherland Front is aimed at establishing most sincere and friendly relations with the great Western democracies – the United States of America and Great Britain, at doing away with all obstacles to the recognition of the Bulgarian government and to the prompt conclusion of the peace treaty. Bulgaria's foreign policy is a policy of peace and friendship with all freedom-loving democratic peoples.

This national foreign policy takes into account the necessity to strengthen the co-operation among the three great powers – the Soviet Union, the USA and Great Britain, which co-operation secured the victory in the War of Liberation and constitutes a guarantee for the establishment of a lasting peace. International reaction, which has

its agents in some of our opposition groups, will not succeed in undermining this co-operation, so strongly desired by all peoples. We have good reason to believe that the Moscow Conference⁵⁰ of the foreign ministers of the three great powers which is now in session in Moscow will still further consolidate this co-operation so badly needed.

The activity of the Fatherland Front government after September 9, and the far-reaching democratic changes effected in the spirit of the Yalta decisions of the leaders of the three great powers are a sufficiently clear proof of the new democratic road on which our country has embarked in the interest of peace, democracy and progress in the Balkans and in Europe.

Strange as it may seem, there are still politicians abroad who do not want to admit that after September 9, 1944 Bulgaria's foreign policy was thoroughly changed, that Bulgaria resolutely supports the allies and has manifested and continues to manifest her firm resolve to be a factor of peace and democracy in the Balkans.

There can be no doubt, however, that the efforts of new Fatherland Front Bulgaria to achieve peace and progress in postwar Europe will soon be acknowledged by all great democratic states and peace-loving nations.

Ladies and Gentlemen National Representatives!

After long and bitter experiences the Bulgarian people have finally found the road of their development. They are marching along the correct road of the Fatherland Front. Following this road and confident in their forces, they will succeed in coping with all domestic and international difficulties. We should not forget, however, that the key to the favourable solution of these domestic and international problems is in our hands and in our people's unity.

Long live the present truly National Assembly!

Long live the Fatherland Front – organizer and leader of our people!

Long live the Bulgarian people's patriotic unity!

Forward with might and main to the building up of

free, independent, democratic, powerful and prosperous Bulgaria!

(The Bureau, all ministers and all national representatives rise, applauding long and stormily. Cheers).

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 394
December 26, 1945

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PLACE AND ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS IN THE NEW STATE

*Speech before the Plenary Session of the General Workers' Trade
Union Council*

January 20, 1946

Comrades,

So far as I have been able to inform myself, the General Workers' Trade Union has indeed scored remarkable achievements since its National Congress: achievements in the field of its inner organizational stabilization, achievements in its efforts to rehabilitate and develop the national economy of Fatherland Front Bulgaria, achievements also in the field of the best possible improvement of the material and cultural standards of the industrial and office workers in our country.

I am convinced that the decisions which you take at the present plenary session will help our trade union movement score still further successes.

But I want to share with you a personal impression. I may not be quite right, in which case you will correct me. I have the impression that the General Trade Union Council and its individual trade unions and their leadership have not yet drawn all concrete, practical conclusions from what has happened in our country since September 9, regarding the role which the organized workers are called upon to play in new Bulgaria. *The working class in our country is not in opposition to the state and government. On the contrary, the working class, through the Fatherland Front, takes part in the management of state affairs.* It not only takes part in it, but it – the working class – and its trade unions are and have to be one of the mainstays of the People's Fatherland Front Government. They must without fail be the fundamental factor (and not just one of the fundamen-

tal factors) for the rehabilitation and development of industry and transport in Bulgaria, upon which depend the development of our entire national economy. The trade union organizations and their General Workers' Trade Union are not and cannot be regarded as a spare wheel in the chariot of the Fatherland Front Government and in the national economy. The trade union ought to have the feeling, sense of responsibility and consciousness that they are an important social, economic, cultural and political factor in our country. We now have a people's state of our own. Unlike the past, we have a working class which is not deprived of rights nor subordinated to state authority or to the private capitalist, as was formerly the case under the fascist regimes. We no longer have a state of affairs when the chief of a state department, cabinet minister, etc., could act as he pleased, and when the private capitalist – the owner of an enterprise, factory or workshop – was its absolute master; when he was the only boss; when he was the only one to set down the order, working hours, wages – everything, and the workers had to obey: to do his will, to be exploited, oppressed, and robbed. *Today's employer – owner of an enterprise, is not and cannot be absolute master of his enterprise.* The Fatherland Front Government does not take away his enterprise. But he is obliged to take into account the interests and rights of the workers and to subordinate his private interests to the interests of the national economy and to the general interests of the people.

In the Fatherland Front era, which dawned on September 9, *employers remain masters of their enterprises, but not absolute masters.* They are limited by the conditions of this Fatherland Front era. They are limited by the existence of the trade unions and their trade union committees. They are limited by the labour laws. *The task of the trade unions is not to replace employers, but rather to help increase production supply of raw materials, expansion of the enterprise, etc. Their task is to establish strict labour discipline and increase labour productivity; their task is to take action against every sabotage and lack of order at the enterprise; their task is to defend the workers' rights and interests; their task is to teach the industrialists and all other employers to assume a new attitude*

towards our industrial and office workers, towards labour. Those who cannot learn through persuasion and explanation, will have to be taught in extreme cases also by that legal instrument which the working class and the trade unions have in their hands – the strike.

Under the conditions prevailing in Fatherland Front Bulgaria, of course, as a rule strikes can and will be avoided. But this holds good in all cases in which an employer does not want to be absolute master and does not want to conduct his work according to the old fascist pattern. Incurable employers, who do want to understand that they live in a new environment, in the era of the Fatherland Front, and that they have to comply strictly with the interests and rights of workers and employees, will be taught, after all normal means have been exhausted, in yet another way, i.e. through strikes. That is why the trade unions in our country do not exclude and cannot exclude strike action *call when the general conditions call for it.* The necessary normal conditions between employers and workers will thus be consolidated for the proper development and function of a given enterprise and of the entire national economy.

I said that we have a people's state of our own and that is why we have a new attitude towards it. In the past, our attitude towards the fascist state – as an oppressor, exploiter, robber and tool in the hands of the enemies of our people – was, as you know, negative. In the interest of the people, in the interest of the country, we had to resort to wrecking action, strikes, and a struggle against fascism. It is to be regretted that our working class did not develop that fight sufficiently. But the line laid down and followed by the conscious workers, the vanguard of the working class, was that of strikes, and of wrecking with a view to overthrowing the fascist rule and setting up what was set up on September 9 – the new, people's state.

But what does a people's state mean? It cannot be created all at one time. It is true that the foundations have been laid, a new course and a new road have been set. But this state must be made a people's state in the full sense of the word, through work and struggle. True, the Fatherland

Front secures the conditions and opportunities for building it up. But our trade unions are called upon to play an important role in its reconstruction. Take, for instance, the state institutions. How much old rust there is in them! How many Augean stables have still to be cleaned! They cannot be cleaned in one or two months. An iron broom is needed here, to sweep them in a planned and systematic manner over a long period of time. That iron broom must above all be in the hands of the organizations of the working class – in the hands of the trade unions. Can our trade unions tolerate in the state institutions such a putrid and criminal bureaucracy as exists in many institutions at present? Can they tolerate the corruption, graft and waste witnessed in so many government departments? Can the trade unions stand the lack of labour discipline which we observe in almost all state institutions, where many employees and officials do not utilize working hours, but work in a slap-dash manner, loitering from office to office, hindering the proper functioning of the state apparatus, when proper functioning is necessary for the rapid rehabilitation of the country's economy. Of course not!

It is not only a question here of a purge of the fascist elements. That must be carried out and brought to an end. *The main question here is the education of many hundreds and thousands of employees and office workers, who are organized in our trade unions, but are accustomed to working in the old way, of getting something out of the businessmen and profiteers in one way or another and who become, intentionally or unintentionally, the instruments of corruption and shady deals in the state apparatus.* In other words, persistent education and re-education is needed. Pressure on the part of the trade unions and the General Trade Union Council is needed. Our country is in need of honest work and labour discipline. We need not put off for tomorrow that we are supposed to do today. We should not allow evil, criminal elements to take advantage of the insufficient experience and vigilance of honest employees and office workers and even of communists, and do their criminal and anti-popular work.

Can the trade unions, and in the first place the Rail

waymen's Trade Union, put up with the situation existing of late in our railways? What a great number of accidents take place through negligence! I am not speaking of accidents that take place as a result of wrecking, evil intent, or with a criminal end in view. Their number is not negligible. The reactionaries and die-hard opposition resort to sabotage and diversion in order to compromise the new, People's Government. But how many other accidents take place through negligence, and as a result of violations of labour discipline, lack of obedience to the respective authority, disobedience of orders and rules which must be observed in order to avoid accidents? An accident means damage to the engine, damage to wagons, to materials and goods which are transported, and very often there are victims, and not only railwaymen but also passengers. This question is of common concern to the whole working class, to the General Workers' Trade Union. It must be put forward with the utmost seriousness, so that joint efforts can bring order in the railways and transport, upon which depends the economic and cultural life of our country.

Let me not cite other examples. You probably know them better than I do. It is clear that without the active participation of the trade unions these tasks cannot be fulfilled. Yet they have to be fulfilled without fail, in the interest not only of the trade unions and the working class, but also in the interest of our people and country. *To make our country a people's state we have to have a new attitude towards it, to rid ourselves of survivals of the old, hostile attitude.* But state officials should also have a different attitude towards the working class, peasants, artisans, the people. In this respect, I underscore it once again, the trade unions are called upon to accomplish a very important task, and they have to carry it out conscientiously and successfully.

This period has marked an improvement in the material and cultural standards of the industrial and office workers. I was interested to find out what these improvements were. In places greater, in other smaller, improvement exist. But, Comrades, can we say that the trade unions have made use of all existing possibilities to improve the material and cultural standards of our industrial

and office workers? No! True, the country's situation is difficult. Ours was a poor heritage from the past: economic ruin and financial stagnation. The war was very costly. The drought was another serious handicap. We are all aware of it. At present, of course, we cannot do much to increase the wages and salaries, as we might have done under other, more favourable circumstances. But if we cast a glance at every institution, every enterprise, every separate region in our country, we shall find many local resources which have not been tapped so far. The trade unions ought not to make mere general declarations or only general decisions; they should investigate at every place, at every enterprise, what can still be done to increase not only the nominal pay (wages alone will not solve the problem) but also the real wages, for a real improvement of the material and cultural standards of industrial and office workers through organizing canteens, supply of clothing, footwear, homes, clubs, improvement of the conditions for rest and recreation at holiday houses, sanatoria, etc. In many factories more can be done that has been done so far for the workers, without burdening the calculations and raising the prices of goods, provided the trade unions and their trade union committees are at their place. Comrades, you will have to develop initiatives from below; at every factory, mine, workshop. In every town or village where there is an industrial enterprise even the last smallest possibilities should be discovered and made use of to improve as much as possible the material and cultural standards of the working class in our country.

You have read in the reply to the speech from the throne, which was unanimously approved by the National Assembly, that in new, Fatherland Front Bulgaria labour has to be a *fundamental fact* – that it has to occupy a basic place in the state, public and political affairs. But this remains merely a printed letter in black and white, as a mere solemn declaration, such as the Declaration of the French Revolution on the Rights of Man – liberty, fraternity, equality – if there is no organized force to implement this declaration. The organized force is the Fatherland Front through its National Committee and local committees; but the main

organized force are *the trade unions* – the trade unions in every separate branch of production and the General Workers' Trade Union for the country as a whole.

You must have greater confidence in your own strength, in the power of the organized working class. As trade unions, or as leaders of these trade unions, you ought to have greater confidence and a greater sense of responsibility for the destiny of our country and national economy; you have to get rid of that feeling of timidity inherited from the past, when the worker would come and beg the employer, when he would knock at the door of the employer and the latter would not reply. Get rid of this! Help the industrial and office workers get rid of it! This does not mean that they have to rise in revolt, to kick up rows, but it does mean that they have to be conscious of their organized force as a working class, of the power of their General Workers' Trade Union, to be conscious of the force of the Fatherland Front and of their own rule, and to implement it in practice – intelligently, methodically and firmly. Firmly!

When in the past I was myself secretary of the General Workers' Trade Union, I used to travel all over the country; I had all factories and enterprises at my finger-tips and knew almost all activists. But the past was quite different. At that time we often went on strike not only to improve the material standards of the workers, but mainly for agitation and propaganda, for developing the workers' class consciousness. Now we shall no longer strike for agitation and propaganda purposes. *Now we are the builders and creators of a new, democratic Bulgaria, which we want to push forward, along the road of a normal social development, in which one day all nations will find their salvation and happiness – towards socialism.* It is not a question of empty talk about socialism, to which certain glib pseudo-socialists and demagogues are accustomed, but who in fact wish to obstruct the people's cause upheld by the Fatherland Front.

We know the Marxist laws of social development. We have been learning and shall continue to learn from our great teachers such as Lenin.

We know exactly, as a scientific conclusion, just as 2

and 2 makes 4, that the Bulgarian people will the sooner be able to achieve socialism, the more firmly the people themselves in town and country become convinced of the salutary role and historic necessity of socialism.

To be able to fulfil their role at the present moment, I repeat, their unusually important and in certain respects decisive role, the trade unions, have to educate and constantly train in the course of their work, creative efforts and struggle cadres – *devoted cadres, loyal to the working class, to our people, politically educated cadres, qualified workers' engineering and technical cadres, cadres who know whither the development of society is tending and what the prospects are, cadres learning how to govern, to govern a state, a municipality, an industry, to govern, and not simply pay lipservice.* They should not be talking through their hat, they should not think that in working for the Fatherland Front they are ruining socialism (for there are wise-acres saying it), but should step by step, day after day, raise and improve their skill, their capacities and knowledge, so that if they are in production they may become specialists, and if they are trade union workers they may learn not only how to make agitation and propaganda, which is very necessary, but also how an enterprise is managed, how calculations are made, how the unscrupulous manager of an enterprise can dupe the workers and the state, and what deceptions are perpetrated through such intricate accounting. People in our country should study these questions, so that every manager can gain greater and greater experience. This is necessary today, and will be still more necessary tomorrow. manager can gain greater and greater experience. This is necessary today, and will be still more necessary tomorrow.

One other question. Besides the General Workers' Trade Union, as you know, there is yet another union: the Farmers' Union⁵¹. I think that the development of this union presumes very close contact, joint action, mutual co-operation and mutual assistance between the General Workers' Trade Union and the Farmers' Union. The interests of workers differ from the interests of farmers; the tasks that face you are different from the tasks which they have to face. But these interests and these tasks do not

contradict, they supplement each other. Moreover there are common questions which affect both them and you. With a view to the necessary consolidation of the militant friendship between workers and peasants; forming the backbone of Fatherland Front relations, such close fraternal co-operation in the centre and at the local organizations will be of immense help. *The Workers' Trade Unions can be very useful by co-operating with the Farmers' Union, and through the labour and cultural brigades, and in many other ways, in raising the material and cultural standards of our village, in which the working class is vitally interested.* The trade unions will not perform their historic role if they fail to understand and do not do all that is necessary for the all-round consolidation of the fraternal alliance between the working class and peasantry – the best guarantee for the establishment of a powerful, democratic and prosperous Bulgaria.

Finally, in conclusion, Comrades, may I say that the General Workers' Trade Union ought to act and manifest itself in the social and political life of the country as an independent organization of the working class, and I underscore the word independent. In connection with all political events in our country, the General Workers' Trade Union – which is neither a party, nor an apolitical organization, but an organization of the entire working class, in which there are and which cannot be without members of different political trends participating in the Fatherland Front, and many non-affiliated persons – must always take a stand and put forward declarations and decisions as well as certain information before its members. For instance, with regard to the Moscow decisions, which met with the support of all democratic countries as being proof of the consolidation of the co-operation so necessary and beneficial between the Soviet Union, Great Britain and America, the Government and the National Committee did take a stand. Our press came out with statements, in connection with this question. But the question is: are not the trade unions interested in this same problem? Are they not interested in the attitude of the evil-minded opposition towards this decision? Are they not in-

interested in the criminal attempts of this opposition to foil the application of this decision, in order to impede the settlement of Bulgaria's international situation? The anti-popular attacks of internal and external reaction against new Bulgaria, do they not affect the trade unions?

Ought not the General Workers' Trade Union to have taken a stand with regard to these questions, to have discussed and explained them to its organizations, to its members, to the whole working class, showing them what was to be done? *Reaction, you are aware of it, is raising its head* and it is easy to understand why. We all know who encourages it; it has its councillors abroad, who are closely linked with it. It resorts to economic wrecking and terrorist actions, to create confusion and disorder in our country. The National Committee of the Fatherland Front discussed this situation in its last sittings. Why doesn't the Workers' Trade Union, after due investigation and in its own name as an independent organization and on behalf of the entire working class, come out and have its say stating its position? It will surely not contradict the stand taken by the Fatherland Front. But it would be an independent position, a position developed and supported from the viewpoint of the trade unions themselves – with such arguments which will make the working class understand more easily and clearly why it is necessary to fight reaction, why vigilance by day and by night is necessary against the internal and external enemies of the people, and why the working class should be sure that even God could not help this reaction if God existed. Their cause is irretrievably lost, because Bulgaria, as our peasants say, is not a village unguarded by dogs, it is not a country without a loyal guard. It has its own political and social force in the person of the Fatherland Front, it has its own trade unions at the enterprises throughout the country, and that country is not alone. This small Bulgaria, small but young, viable, uncorrupted by capitalist civilization as some other countries (Bulgaria and all Slav countries have the advantage of not having been corrupted by rotten capitalist civilization to such a high degree as certain old capitalist countries), *this small, but young, viable Bulgaria, which after September 9*

opened the people's hearts, stimulated their labour enthusiasm, their patriotism, their readiness to march forward and ever forward, has many friends.

Bulgaria is under the fraternal protection of the great Soviet Union.

*Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 14.
January 24, 1946*

*G. Dimitrov, Works
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THE PEOPLE'S MILITIA IS THE UNSHAKEABLE
MAINSTAY OF THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

Speech before the Militia Chief Officers

January 21, 1949

Comrades!

Many good things have been said of our people's militia. No doubt this was no empty praise, but well-deserved acknowledgement of its merits. The people's militia in this country, together with our army, which has been transformed from the old one into a people's democratic army, is the firm mainstay of the new, democratic government of the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria. We cannot imagine the correct democratic development of Bulgaria in the social and political sphere and in the field of national economy without a strong, disciplined and well-trained people's militia.

The people's militia is called upon to maintain law and order within the country, to guarantee the peaceful creative labour of our people, and to be the guardian of its interests and rights, of its life and property, to defend the new democratic system against attempts of anti-popular elements and foreign agents, no matter under what mask they may try to disguise their appearance and actions.

With the support of the strong patriotic sections of the population, our militia is fulfilling, and is capable enough to fulfil even better in the future, this difficult and complex task for the good of the people.

Wherein lie the power and authority of the people's militia? In the first place, I think, in the fact that the officers, leading executives of the people's militia and the greatest part of the militiamen themselves, are not ordinary employers, or various good-for-nothings and rugges, as was the case with the police force of former regimes and es-

pecially that under fascist rule, but genuine fighters for democratic rights and freedoms, fighters for the freedom and welfare of our people.

Those who are now leading officers of the people's militia, are persons who, together with the people, have fought for the overthrow of the accursed monarchist and fascist dictatorship and for the liberation of our country from the barbarous German yoke. They became steeled as faithful sons of the people during the hard years of guerrilla warfare, in prisons and concentration camps, always ready to sacrifice their lives for the freedom and independence of their people. They have proved that they are real Bulgarian patriots.

The power and authority of the people's militia lie, in the second place, in the fact that its leading officers and its men are inspired by our people's ideals, by the great ideas that now determine the destinies of Bulgaria through the rule of the Fatherland Front, the idea of building a new, democratic Bulgaria, the idea of eternal friendship with the great Russian people, the idea of indestructible brotherhood with our Slav neighbours – the peoples of new Yugoslavia, the idea of securing our freedom and independence, the sovereignty of our state, against every encroachment, against every danger, no matter where it comes from.

The people's militia is powerful because it lives with the life of the people, because it advances hand in hand with it, because it has no interests, aims or tasks but the interests, tasks and aims of our people united in the Fatherland Front – saviour of the country.

Our people's militia, Comrades, has gone through great trials and difficult struggles after September 9. It did not come out of nowhere. Nor did it simply assert itself as the mainstay and defender, as the guardian of our people's government. The militia has been formed step by step, and is still being formed with the aid of the Fatherland Front committees, with the active participation of our Party.

If we are able tonight to congratulate our people's militia with such deep joy and moral gratification, if we are now able, all of us together, workers of the Fatherland

Front and of the Government, to say how rightly proud we are of the people's militia, this is thanks to the tremendous work done in the integration of its original elements into the strong and militant state organization, loyal to the people, which the people's militia is at present.

But we all must be aware, especially those working in the militia, its leading executives, its officers of every rank, that the cause, the historic task of the Fatherland Front has far from been accomplished. We, the whole nation and the whole country, are climbing a mountain, towards a high peak, perhaps higher than, say, our Moussala. We are advancing step by step, with great effort, through great hardships, as a nation, as an army, together with the militia, along steep paths leading towards the summit. But we are still far from the coveted goal. True, we have left the foot of the mountain behind us. We have probably got as far as the middle of the road. But there is still the most difficult part left to the summit which we have to reach, so as to have a really prosperous and happy Bulgaria.

Our enemies, both within the country and without, want to stop us in the middle of the way or even beat us back. They are working with furious zeal to accomplish this. They become the more furious the more fully we devote our energy to the practical realization of the Fatherland Front programme. The bills that have been passed and have yet to be passed by the National Assembly, will further infuriate the reactionaries and their agents within the opposition. We now have enough information that domestic reaction and foreign agents in our own country and in some of the neighbouring countries, are about to reinforce their subversive groups for sabotage and terrorist action. They are even planning to stage riots, so as to check the further development and strengthening of the democratic rule in this country, to obstruct the building of new, democratic Bulgaria.

Who is to defend the creative work of the people? First and foremost – the people's militia, our armed force within the country, which is the agent of the people and of the state, a mainstay of the power of the Fatherland

Front. There are few things worse than resting on one's laurels. It is necessary that the leading officers and militiamen be constantly on the lookout, so as to frustrate immediately the fiendish plans of the people's enemies.

We know from experience that there are many diseases from which people suffer and which, unfortunately, the medical sciences are still not in a position to cope with. But one of the major and most fatal diseases for a nation, party or any other organization, including the people's militia, is smugness, complacency with what has been achieved. Let us guard against this with all available means. There are people among us, as there are in the people's militia, who are apt to think naïvely that we have already crossed the Rubicon, and who tend to make light of difficulties. They do not clearly realize that now is the time to get down to work even harder than before or immediately after September 9, that precisely now we have to be even more vigilant, work more for our own improvement, try to learn more than we did before, to keep our ties with the population even closer, act more tactfully and with greater consideration than before. Everyone must be fully aware of the necessity to depend more upon the organized, disciplined, carefully considered and tactful action of the people's militia, than on the application of the material force which it commands. This is probably more difficult, but it is absolutely necessary and it is the only line of action that can bring positive results in the consolidation of the Bulgarian people's democracy. We must not adopt the line of least resistance but, on the contrary, the line of the social and historical necessity for the people and country.

The laws of Fatherland Front Bulgaria must also be observed with the utmost strictness. These laws are valid not only for the ordinary citizens, but also for the authorities, for those in whose hands the power of the people has been vested. They are obligatory for all of us, for every Bulgarian man and woman. Those who, like the malevolent members of the opposition, think that they are above the laws, that the laws cannot be applied to them, because they have high-ranking protectors outside the

country, must also be brought to comply with the laws and be given the place they properly deserve.

The people love the militia, because they are aware of the vast difference between the former fascist police, who were the butchers of the people, and the popular militia, who are their loyal protectors. They are as far apart as earth and sky. Our enemies hate the people's militia. But the more they hate it the more the people will love it. This love must be treasured, it must be strengthened and encouraged to grow. It is a tremendous capital of the people, of the government of the Fatherland Front, of the people's militia itself, and the people's militia must work for the constant increase of this capital.

It must further be borne in mind, especially by our leading officers of the people's militia, that every kind of power, including our people's power, offers many temptations, conceals a certain danger of demoralization, of corruption, of deviations from the straight and lawful road, especially in the case of officers of weaker character. The leading officer of a district, county or region may be led to abuse the power he had. This must be resisted with great moral integrity and constant watchfulness. The men of the people's militia must remain fighters, such as they were before and immediately after September 9. They must not allow themselves to be led astray by greed of promotion, by the temptation of possible personal advantage, of securing favours for their relations or countrymen. They must base their actions on the awareness of being representatives of our honest and noble people, of our people's state, of our Fatherland Front, and, in so far as the people's militia is in the charge of a communist minister, of being the representatives of the Communist Party, whose authority, reputation and future are at stake. That is why each worker of the people's militia must have a critical attitude towards himself. They must exert control over themselves and their colleagues and subordinates, and act as befits fighters for freedom and people's rights, for the noble ideals of our people, for the great historic cause of September 9.

I raise my glass to the workers in our people's militia

being, to a man, sincere, honest and upright fighters for the cause of the Fatherland Front, for the prosperity and happiness of our people!

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 41,
February 25, 1946

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HISTORIC MISSION OF THE BULGARIAN WORKERS' PARTY (COMMUNISTS)

Speech at the Sofia Regional Conference of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists)

February 26, 1946

Comrades,

Our Party, as a party of the workers, of the working people, as a party of Marxists and Communists, differs radically from many other political parties. There are parties which lead a temporary existence, they are formed to fulfil temporary tasks and aims, and when they have, in one way or another, coped with their temporary tasks and aims, they go off the stage and cease to exist. Ours is no such party; it is what we may call a *historical party*. It was born in struggle, it was formed and developed and is growing in constant struggle. Since its formation our Party has had an uninterrupted existence, legal or illegal, of half a century. It must continue to exist and will certainly exist until the time when the necessity of any political party will have died out. Until that time the Party will have to be able to cope with the tasks arising at every particular stage of social development.

But precisely because our Party's character and its historical mission are of this kind, it had to be, in its internal life, in its discipline and in its ideological and political level, different from the others, the temporary political parties. At the same time, after September 9, as you know, our Party has grown into a mass party, huge for the Bulgarian conditions; its ranks have been joined by many new elements: workers, peasants, craftsmen, intellectuals, workers of science and art. Many honest people have joined the ranks of our Party. But also, as you well know, as a ruling Party we have acquired a power of attraction

which we lacked before September 9. Members of the Party until September 9 were those who were ready to sacrifice themselves, to sacrifice material interests, their personal comfort, even their lives. After September 9, a certain number of elements, accidental or alien to the Communist Party, joined the party, some of them seeking to avoid inconveniences in connection with their activities in the past, others greedy for personal advantages, for lucrative jobs, or to secure favours for themselves or their relatives, eager to use the power to their advantage. They even declared themselves to be the most zealous, first-class communists. Shall we stage quite openly that in our Party, consisting of more than 400,000 members, there are persons who do not deserve to be in its ranks; there are elements which must be expelled as foreign and harmful elements, which compromise the Party's name.

If we want our Party to be of the type described, a *party with a historical mission*, we must purge our ranks of careerists and job-hunters, of people who put their power to wrong use. No corruption, no actions that compromise its name must be tolerated within our Party. A firm hand is needed here, Comrades! As a Party we stand to lose nothing by such methods, we can only gain by it. Let the members of the Party be 400,000 instead of 450,000 but let these be honest militants for the cause of the Bulgarian people. These 400,000 honest and upright fighters for the cause of the Fatherland Front and socialism will be able to lead millions of Bulgarian men and women in the future.

In the second place, the Party must have iron discipline, though conscientious and voluntary, but none the less *iron discipline*, which is based and has to be based on our unity of purpose, on our common tasks and aims as a Party, on our Marxist science, which leads us to victories. This unity of purpose and discipline is necessary if our Party is to fulfil its historic mission. Consequently, one thing that should not be allowed is placing one's personal interests, wishes and views over and above the tasks and aims of the Party. The personal interests of all Party members, independent of the rank we hold, must be subor-

minated to the interests of the Party, of our people. Hence, in our Party organization, in the Party as a whole, there is no room for groups or factions, or any hostile, anti-party gangs. Wherever such groups appear, they must be mercilessly removed, and if necessary, the Party lancet must be brought into play. No tolerance or liberalism must be shown towards Party elements who try to disorganize its ranks, to introduce demoralization, who become carriers of foreign, hostile ideas and influences. This attitude, Comrades, is all the more necessary when we have in mind that there are many new members of the Party who are not well acquainted with our theory, who have not fully adopted the general, Fatherland Front line of the Party, members who are liable to yield to demagoguery and deception from outside, to become victims of provocators and agents of our enemies. Enemies cannot attack our Party directly from outside, because it stands on firm, granite foundations, but they are trying to act from within, under cover of various leftist slogans and demagogic phrases and to deceive individual members of our Party, to disorganize its ranks, to undermine its discipline and its ideological and political cohesion. Such elements in the Party must be carefully watched. Ruthless action must be taken against such elements who disorganize and demoralize the Party. In a militant Party like ours there is no and there can be no room for anarchists, anarcho-tradeunionists, anarcho-communists and other similar hostile elements.

But the cohesion, discipline and fighting capacity of our Party depend, first of all, on two important factors. The first factor is *the Party cadres*, the second is *the correct understanding of the Party line and its prospects* – which way we are going, what we are fighting for, and how far we wish to go as a party, as a people.

As for the Party cadres, we often hear talk about 'old' and 'young' cadres. The division into old and young is thoroughly wrong. The Party has four basic categories of cadres, each category comprising *both old and young people*.

One category includes cadres, both old and young, who have been in the ranks of the Party before September 9, some of them even before 1923 and others later than this,

but they have been within the Party without interruption until September 9. They have worked actively, they have fought against fascism, they have worked for the historic cause of September 9, and since that day have continue to serve the Party honestly and faithfully. *This is the first category.*

Another category includes people, both young and old, members of the Party since 1923 or later, who until September 9 were not active Party workers, keeping at a certain distance, but they too have helped the Party to the best of their abilities, in towns, villages and offices. These are honest and devoted people, but they are no heroes, they were not prepared to join a guerrilla detachment, or to be thrust into prison or into concentration camp; they have kept at a distance, but they have loved sincerely the Party and its aims, and they have tried to give their moral and material aid, they have helped shelter our comrades working underground, they have assisted wounded fighters, etc. *This is the second category.*

There is a special category of Party cadres, old and young, who, under the fascist regime before September 9, drifted apart from the Party; they were passive, keeping at a distance and attended to their personal affairs (some lawyers, many teachers, clerks, etc.), but they were not hostile to the Party, they did not side with the enemy, did not help the fascists. *This is the third category of Party cadres.*

Lastly, there are some new Party cadres, both young and old, who appeared and gained prominence after September 9, when the gates to political activity were thrown wide open, when the atmosphere was cleared and an endless 'Hurrah' sounded in the streets and crossroads. It was at the time that they started their political activities in the Party and grew as new Party cadres – in the state apparatus, in the social organizations, in the Fatherland Front committees, etc. *This is the fourth category of Party cadres.*

These are the four basic categories of our Party cadres. It is in the Party's interest to employ fully all these cadres in its activities in the Party itself, as well as in the state apparatus, the public organizations, and everywhere in social

life for the building of a new, Fatherland Front Bulgaria. That is why the individual elements of all four categories must have the constant attention of the Party leadership, central, regional, and local. Our task at the present stage is to accelerate the fusion of all four categories of cadres into a united whole, into a common Party cadre, on which the unity, discipline and fighting capacity of our Party will largely depend.

But, naturally, the Party cannot have *the same* attitude towards the four categories of cadres. A difference must be made. On the leading bodies of the Party in the centre, in the districts and counties, people of the first category must predominate. *The first category of cadres now forms the backbone of the Party cadres and of the Party itself.* Precisely these cadres can be entirely relied upon for the correct leadership of the Party and the correct education of the Party membership. Then follows the second category, which was not active before September 9, but which consists of honest and loyal Party members, who have helped the Party in the struggle against fascism. The Party's attitude towards the third category cannot be free from certain reservations. This third category, which has not helped the Party, but has not sided with the enemy either, has stayed for a long time, some for as many as 20 years, apart from political life, from the Party and its struggles. This category of cadres, as a rule, has remained backward in its political and ideological development. It cannot claim a leading role in the Party at the present moment. It must be given time to find its bearings, to adopt the Party line; it must make up for what it missed over 20 or 10 years, it must catch up with the others, before it can claim a decisive role in the leadership of the Party, in resolving Party problems. This category of cadres can be extremely useful and will be useful in the machinery of the state, in the social organizations and in national economy, but always acting under Party guidance. The cadres of this category with their knowledge as lawyers, doctors, engineers, teachers, and other specialists, as educated people, will be useful in so far as they execute the directives of the Party, of the Par-

ty leadership in so far as they implicitly obey and observe the party discipline and morale.

There are certain comrades in this category who think that they have been wronged, and feel hurt. Some of them have been leaders of regional and county organizations before 1923, others have been members of the Central Committee, deputies or municipal councillors prior to September 23, 1923. Now that they have come to the surface again in a free political atmosphere, it seems to them that they are naturally entitled to a leading post in the Party; they feel awkward working under younger comrades, and claim leading roles in the Party, the administration, the municipalities, etc. This makes it somewhat unpleasant for them and the Party organizations. This must end. These comrades must always remember that they can have a leading role in the life of the Party, and occupy a high position in state or public life only if they get down to work, and make an effort to obey the Party leadership and Party discipline. On the other hand, the Party must help them in every way to make up as soon as possible for what they have missed in the past. Here it must be mentioned that some local Party leaders have a wrong attitude to the cadres of the third category. They say, 'we worked and sacrificed ourselves before September 9, while they attended to their lawyers' offices, or to their vineyards, anxious to preserve their comfort. They were not to be seen anywhere, and they now want to be big chiefs, district directors and county bosses, or, in Party organizations, no less than leaders. We cannot have it!' There is even a certain bitterness against such cadres. Such attitude is not in the Party's interest. It must be put an end to. On the contrary, the ability and knowledge of these cadres must be employed a hundred per cent in all suitable ways for the work of the Party and the Fatherland Front.

As for the cadres of the fourth category, i. e. the post-September cadres, they must try to assimilate the experience of the Party before September 9, they must study the basic lessons of its history, they must concentrate their attention on raising their ideological and political standards, so as to become valuable Party cadres.

Our cadres, all of us, beginning with myself, and down to the last Party member must *learn how to govern*. We have opposition; we have had occasion to criticize and to fight but not to govern, with the exception of short periods before 1923 when we had some municipalities in our hands. Since September 9 we have been gaining experience as a ruling Party. We stand in great need of such experience. Our Party cadres wherever they are, must learn. We must all learn how to govern, how to build; we must learn how to work together with our allies in the Fatherland Front. There must be emulation between us and our allies, and we must be the ones to produce the best specialists, our cadres must rank first, always able to justify the trust placed in them. This is to be achieved through hard work, knowledge and skill, not through complacency and sectarian smugness. We must not rest on our laurels, we must constantly learn, work tirelessly for our own betterment. If the communist is an engineer – let him learn further, if he is a manager – let him improve his qualification, if he is a teacher – the same thing is valid, if he is a Party worker – this is even more important. Wherever we are, whatever position we occupy, we must learn tirelessly, as without the knowledge of how to govern, how to build a new, democratic Bulgaria, we cannot secure the progress and bright future of our country and our people.

I feel certain that the problem of cadres and their education has been carefully discussed at the conference, but I want to emphasize that our Marxist-Leninist education is something about which much is said but unfortunately proportionately less done in the Party. The work for the education of Party members must always be closely linked with our practical activity, with real creative work within the Party and outside. Divorcing theory from practice, theoretical education from practical activity, is harmful. There must be full harmony between our practical work and theoretical training. Let us not think we have reached the limit of what there is to know. No one knows all that he should know in his particular sphere. One always has to know more. *We must learn while we work, as*

we learned while we fought the enemy before September 9, in the guerrilla detachments, prisons and concentration camps. Now we must learn the process of building, of creation.

The second factor on which the cohesion, discipline and fighting capacity of the Party depend, is *the correct understanding of our general line and policy*.

There are some people (usually provocateurs, but they can influence some of our comrades who are not mature enough politically) who say that our Party, the staple force of the Fatherland Front, has turned into an ordinary democratic party, has tacitly given up socialism, that there is as it were, a contradiction between the struggle and work for realizing the Fatherland Front programme and the struggle for socialism. This must be put an end to. While any single comrade has doubts concerning this basic problem, he cannot work for the Party, for the common cause of the people, for the Fatherland Front, with all his strength, energy and enthusiasm.

What, as a matter of fact, is the nature of our policy at this stage of social development, i.e. under Fatherland Front rule? It can be outlined in a few words, as follows. From the point of view of our Party, as a party of the working class, as a party of the working people at present and in the future, the complete and practical realization of the programme of the Fatherland Front means the establishment of the necessary conditions for our people's transition to socialism. It is a well-known fact that the future of all nations lies ultimately in the triumph of socialism. But the struggle for socialism is to be understood now in a different way from 1917 or 1918 in tsarist Russia, when the October Revolution took place. As you know, nearly three decades have passed since then, and the Soviet Union as a socialist country has grown into a major world force. During the Patriotic War this country of socialism showed the greatest vitality, made the greatest contribution to the victory over fascism and the saving of European and world civilization. This war was a brilliant confirmation of the power, might and superiority of the socialist system. This had and is still having a tremendous impact on the entire development of world affairs. As a

result of the war and under the influence of the great cause of the Soviet Union, profound democratic changes have started in many, if not in all, countries. Among them are Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Finland, Bulgaria. Similar democratic changes, a similar development on the road of progress, against the old reactionary world regimes, the regimes of big speculative capital, of cartels and concerns, of imperialism — similar development can be witnessed also in the colonies and semi-colonies, in Indonesia, India, and in a number of other regions in the world. The existence of a great socialist state like the Soviet Union and the historic democratic changes taking place after the war, have faced many countries with the problem of establishing socialism as a problem of the collaboration of the working class with the peasants, craftsmen, intellectuals and other progressive sections of the people. When the time in Bulgaria comes for the transition of our people from the present social system to a new, socialist order, then the communists, supported by the people, will be building the new, socialist society together with the peasants, craftsmen and intellectuals, as a historical development of the whole people.

This way of social development, Comrades, may seem rather slow to some people. But it is not only possible and practicable; it is also much less painful for the people. This is why we, all communists, declare openly and are not ashamed to declare that, under the present circumstances, we prefer this road, as it is the real and painless road to socialism. The fact that all nations, both large and small, will sooner or later embrace socialism, cannot be doubted, for socialism is a historical necessity for all nations, large or small.

The truth of the matter is (and we as Marxists must be aware of it) that each nation will embrace socialism not in the same stereotype way, not necessarily in the Soviet way, but in its own way, according to its own historical, national, social, cultural and other conditions. Whoever says that there is a contradiction between our Fatherland Front policy and the fight for unity among all progressive, democratic forces in the Fatherland Front and for the

realization of its programme, on the one hand, and the fight for socialism on the other, whoever says such a thing is either no Marxist at all, or an outright provocateur. Each stage of social development raises before the people one central, basic task. At our stage of the Fatherland Front the central task is *the realization of the Fatherland Front programme, bringing to a successful end the historic victory of September 9, establishing a Bulgarian people's democracy in the social, economic and cultural life of our people.* That is why a person who does not work and fight in the ranks of the Fatherland Front for solving this great national task, no matter how loud he may talk of socialism, he actually plays the game of reaction, of the enemies of socialism.

Comrades, I want to say a few more words. We must have the noble ambition as Party-members, as communists, to be in every way good and loyal disciples of Lenin. We must learn constantly and always resolve the problems and tasks of our people and our country *not in a stereotype way* but taking into account the concrete circumstances, the balance of social forces, the inclinations of the people and their wishes. We must work and free the Bulgarian people from exploitation, misfortune and disaster by our common sense, by our creative effort. We must think, study the situation and act correctly and competently, as the vital interests of our people at any particular time should dictate. This must be done in every town, county and village, at offices, factories, workshops, mines, schools, everywhere. We must master the skill of *defining the tasks and problems as Marxists, as bolsheviks, in a concrete way, and resolve them in a concrete way.* Our down-to-earth peasant, with his inborn sound judgement, thinks well before he sows, as he is prudent and knows exactly what he wants to reap. He is no dreamer, he is a realist. We have not learned enough from the practical experience of the people. Many of our comrades in their Party work do not take good account of the situation, but let themselves be carried away by remote plans, fantasies and vague words. The peasant will then have every right to say 'Better stop talking, let us get down to business, let us build a school, or a bridge, let us clear the road, and cart enough straw for

the cattle; let us try and create culture and education, and have our own cinema and theatre.'

The Party leaders in many places prefer to give orders instead of showing friendliness and patience in their attitude towards Party members and the population, instead of explaining, teaching and educating the masses and at the same time learning from them.

You are now having a conference; look around and see what people there are here, see how much each is worth and help those who are capable and talented. Experience shows that the more capable comrades are as a rule more modest, they often keep their distance and remain unnoticed, while great talkers manage to rise just because they know how to talk a lot. You ought to look for such comrades, modest and capable, the way Diogenes looked for Man with his lantern! Look for each new active Party worker, discover the capable people and help them make good! There are such young comrades, honest and devoted, who, when they hear better educated members reading papers before an audience, think, 'I shall never be able to reach their level'. They themselves may be capable organizers, or have natural sound judgement and strong character. In this way many capable cadres among the people and in our Party never develop. Measures must be taken for such new cadres to be given a hand, to be helped in their development. Let us always remember that *cadres decide the successful outcome of every undertaking.*

And lastly, we as Bulgarian communists must have the ambition for our Party as a ruling party to be exemplary in every way. We must be able to work together as comrades with our allies, agrarians, members of the Zveno-group, social-democrats, and radicals, for the common cause. We must be at the head of the great popular movement of the Fatherland Front. Do not forget that people cannot always do what they wish, but what circumstances force them to do. Let us create, by means of our struggle and exemplary work in the Fatherland Front, such circumstances in Bulgaria, which shall compell all of our allies, as well as

elements of the people who are now hesitating, to become staunch adherents of the historic cause of the Fatherland Front.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 46
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THE YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE MUST BE
A SCHOOL OF SOCIALISM
*From the Talk with Members of the District
and City Committee of the RMS**

March 1, 1946

I. ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS

It is of great importance if the regional secretary is also the secretary of the city organization. Otherwise the committees act without the necessary co-ordination, they meet only at certain sessions, the District and the City Committee are like two individual governorships. In the Party this has been overcome, but it applies also to the RMS. Work is thus better organized, time is saved, misunderstandings are avoided and there is greater efficiency. And the times we are living through are such that we must work very efficiently.

There must be regular contact between the Central Committee, and the District and the City Committee. With you, as a rule, the Central Committee works on its own, the District Committee works on its own, the City and Sectional Committees work on their own. You should be guided in your work by the principle: strong centralization in the leadership, utmost decentralization in the work. A centralized leadership, which puts through one and the same idea, one and the same policy (here it should be like a fist), while its practical activity, organizational work, agitation and propaganda are decentralized, so that they may reach the broadest masses of youth. Once the general line is known, once the directives of the leadership are known, each one in his own place in an individual organization should manifest a maximum of creative initiative, energy and skill in putting them through.

* RMS - See Note No 34

Our cadres are very insufficient, both in the Party and in the RMS. Having spent 20 years in underground activity, passing through persecutions and prisons, we have not had the time and opportunity to create sufficient cadres. Moreover, some of the bravest, the most capable perished as partisans, prisoners or concentration camp inmates. Now that we enjoy freedom of action, now that nobody can persecute us, we should utilize this freedom and train the necessary new cadres. We should utilize the old cadres who are left, while the new ones who joined the Party and the RMS after September 9 should be given the opportunity of developing, of mastering their work in the organization and the state apparatus, so as to become useful cadres. That is why no time should be lost in discussions and talk, but serious attention and more care should be given to promoting new cadres. Boldly entrust the devoted and growing young boys and girls with responsible work. Try, particularly, to create cadres of young specialists. Let them be good engineers, good doctors, agronomists, jurists and so on. Qualified intellectuals should emerge from your League.

Another shortcoming is that much time is lost owing to disorganization. Meetings are fixed for 8 o'clock and begin at 10. That is inadmissible. The time factor is not valued. Forces and energy are criminally wasted. If you set the time for 8 o'clock, start at 8. This issue should be raised in the press and at meetings, this evil should be scourged. Moreover, the meetings are long, because usually the questions on the agenda have not been prepared. Discussions are begun at random on one question or another, and ideas are numerous, as numerous as bees in a beehive: you stir them up, the bees begin to hum and each one is ready to give ideas. The questions set are sidetracked and time is wasted futilely. Time is very precious for us. It should be valued above many other valuable things. Twenty-four hours are not enough, a day is all too short. If nature could prolong it from 24 to 48 hours, time would still not be enough for us. During these 24 hours one must work, sleep and rest. The only way is to organize our time wisely and rationally, both as leaders and ordinary

militants. You cannot work incessantly and not have time to rest, to go to the theatre, the cinema. What kind of leaders will you be if you have no culture? Culture should be added to the mastering of Marxism. You must be healthy, strong, tenacious. It is a question of work and creative activity.

The organized use of the time of the leading organs is a necessity everywhere in our work; questions should be studied beforehand, discussed concretely and solved concretely. If a certain question is not on the agenda, if it is not an exceptionally important and urgent question, it should be considered at the next meeting. Moreover, everyone need not express an opinion. If what is necessary has already been said by someone else, why should you say it again? Repetition should be avoided. There should not be the ambition to show that one knows a lot. Know-alls are not serious workers, they cannot develop. Whoever imagines that he knows much stays in one place, while life goes on, and that means that he himself lags behind.

When taking a certain decision, you must always set a time limit, determine who is to carry it out and who is to check fulfilment. If you do that, 90 per cent of your decisions will be positive. You decide to call a meeting, but who is to call it, when is it to be called and how is it to be organized, all this is usually left to the secretary to decide according to his lights. The major part of the decisions are left on paper, like unfulfilled wishes. Hours are spent arguing about these decisions, but they are not carried out. Fine decisions, but for the archives only. Archives, however, can have a certain importance only for history. A check-up on the fulfilment of the decisions taken is necessary. A check-up is necessary from above to below, to the last of your rank-and-file. This is not so easy, much work and persistence are necessary to get people used to it. A day or two before the term you should check up on what has been done by telephone or otherwise. That is how you should work if you want to achieve success. You are young and healthy and capable of introducing such a procedure. You will see then for yourselves that you get much better results that way.

Membership dues should be your main income item. It is, however, necessary to keep track of the collection of membership dues organizing it in time, and not being late in paying the membership dues established. If there is neglect, you should act in time, reminding people, and expulsion might be the last measure. Usually, after two or three months, it is noticed that a member has not paid his dues, and then he is expelled. This means that the organization is not doing the necessary education work in that respect. The leaders should be asked how they have approached those members who do not pay their dues. When a leader is in a hurry to expel somebody because he has not paid his dues, he obviously is taking the line of least resistance. Such a leader is no good. There must by all means be an active treasurer in each of your organizations; he will remind members in time, and will see to collecting dues in time, because otherwise there is neglect, a month or two go by, the debt grows bigger and it becomes difficult for the member to pay his overdue membership dues.

The regular payment of membership dues is the first indication of a member's devotion to his organization. You should not engage in business deals as a source of funds. Avoid such sources, they will harm the character of your organization. Socials are an honest means, but they should be well organized and should be serious affairs. Funds obtained from socials should come next after membership dues. Have you organized youth lotteries? Why don't you collect funds from the more well-to-do friends of the youth? There are people who can and will give money to the youth. Establish a fund at the RMS. This question should be examined by the Central Committee of the RMS. Your organization should stand on its own feet financially and only in the last resort should it seek material aid from the Party.

II. ON THE MASS CHARACTER OF THE LEAGUE

The RMS should be numerically stronger than the Party. The decisive condition for a youth to enter the RMS is that he be honest and devoted. He may not be sufficiently

prepared, but RMS is a school for the education of youth, isn't it? You will not prepare him outside the RMS, but you will take him such as he is, with his shortcomings. The thing is that he be honest and devoted, and the RMS will work for his improvement. In this respect the doors of the RMS should stand wide open. Youth is educated in the process of work, in the process of fulfilling the tasks set before our people, before the Fatherland Front, before the Party and before the RMS. But at the same time, of course, you must not allow provocative and harmful elements to join. There can be no room in the RMS for hidden foreign agents. Maximum vigilance should be manifested with regard to such people.

The chief means which you should use to attract new members is to improve your work in the trade unions. From there you will recruit at least 50 per cent more young workers than you now have. You should check how many of the young people in each trade union are organized, how many of them are in the RMS and which of them are active. In each trade union you should check why there are young people not organized in the RMS and who they are. Your Remsists*, in each trade union should most actively work to organize trade union youth in the RMS.

There is also a Women's Union and individual women's societies. What are you doing along this line? How many girls belong to the women's societies, how many of them are organized in the RMS? Which are the active ones, why are many of these girls not organized in the RMS? The attention of the comrades should be directed to organizing these girls in the RMS. The RMS should include in its ranks the mass of girls. They can give much to the youth movement. This part of the youth is important from a general national viewpoint as well. They will be mothers, and it depends on them what kind of a generation they will give new Bulgaria as mothers. As members of the RMS, if they are honest, cultured, politically trained and physically fit they will be good mothers tomorrow. They will also be the wives of our youth, of our militants. A great

deal depends on what kind of wives they will be to their husbands in their personal family life.

Your approach to physical culture is incorrect. You have isolated yourselves from the sports organizations, you thought you should organize sports yourselves. You must reorganize your work in this field, and see what kind of young people take part in sports organizations, who is not a member of the RMS and why. From there you will get not only a certain influx into the RMS, but you will also exert a favourable influence on these important mass organizations.

In your work in the schools you will meet with greater obstacles, your road will not be so smooth. Reaction is trying to create a base for itself there, and you will have to take counter measures and put in more efforts. After September 9, 1944, almost everybody followed the Fatherland Front, the stream bore them along and carried them with it. After that, however, the second period began, the differentiation began: some for, some against, and a third group wavered. This is particularly true of the intellectuals. We are going through such a period now. The more successes the Fatherland Front has, the fewer will be the waverers. The opposition wants to utilize precisely this period of wavering on the part of the intellectuals to grow roots among the school and student youth. It particularly needs student-propagandists, that is why it will attack you most fiercely there. Sofia, as is known, is a hotbed of reaction. But you must have full faith in the forces of the people. There are young people who, when they see that the opposition has a certain influence in some circles, draw aside. Elucidation is necessary, active action on your part to strengthen the faith of youth, particularly of school youth, in the just cause of the Fatherland Front, in the forces of our people.

III. ON THE EDUCATION OF THE YOUTH

Marxist-Leninist education is an important question on which particularly serious measures should be taken. We usually talk a great deal about this education, but do com-

* Member of RMS. — Edit. note.

paratively little in this sphere. But the times in which we live and the conditions in which we work are such that they demand of every Remsist and Party member of ours, that he daily, constantly and uninterruptedly broaden his knowledge in the sphere of our revolutionary theory, that he master the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. You should so adopt, so organize educational work as to make it accessible to a broad circle of your rank-and-file. For the school youth, who know natural history, for instance, and have a general education, it is easier to master our theory, but for the worker and peasant youth, who have no general education, and most of whom have attended school up to the third or fourth class, for this youth our theory presents certain difficulties. Education should therefore be differentiated, i.e. a different approach should be worked out for the working class and peasant youth. In our country there is no such a differentiation. It is now necessary to think of this problem concerning education. This is not so easy, of course. A certain preliminary preparation is necessary. You should re-evaluate your entire experience in that respect, and establish two kinds of educational curricula: the one for the young intellectuals, the other, a popular one, for the worker and peasant youth.

Do not forget that the foundation of the youth movement should be the worker and peasant youth. They are the mass on which you will rely. It is most important that we have an honest and capable intelligentsia, but good cadres must come mainly from the worker and peasant youth. With a view to this task you should also adapt your work, and take steps to obtain auxiliary means in this respect. Study groups should be developed to the utmost in schools, villages, enterprises, government offices and town districts; they should be voluntary, not compulsory. There should be constant interest in them. They should meet once or twice a week to read together, to elucidate current problems. They should meet wherever they can; it is not absolutely necessary that the club should be their meeting place. You should have thousands of groups of this kind, often to fifteen persons, because they are the best way to self-education. The young people will help one another

there, they will advance culturally and develop ideologically and politically.

Self-education is particularly necessary to youth. The Party and the RMS cannot include all those who should study in their courses and schools. It is therefore all the more necessary for each one to see to his own self-education. Establish whole networks of thousands of study groups to this end, give them textbooks abstracts, literature, so that they can study by themselves, and accumulate as much useful knowledge as possible. Under present-day conditions self-education is the most important means of raising the theoretical and political level of our rank-and-file. Any young person who goes to bed without thinking of what he has learnt during the day is not going ahead. Though you may be overloaded with current work, you should so organize it as to find time to consider what you have done during the day; is it to the good or to the bad. If it is to the good, very well, if it is to the bad, take steps. There is a certain sectarian complacency among us: one thinks one knows what is necessary, and even if one does not know it, one will learn it if not today, tomorrow or the day after. But this sectarian complacency and self-opinion is the most dangerous disease for you, young people, against which you must guard yourselves as you do against fire. A Russian proverb says; live a century, learn a century. That should be a law for us communists, for all Remsists. Deeds, not words! Let us talk as much as is necessary, and let us work more than we talk. But let us study continuously and persistently.

Mladezhka Iskra should be your link with the Remsists and all the people's youth. The reason for its still inadequate circulation among the youth is that no energetic measures are taken to distribute it. You must have subscribers, people who have paid for the paper and are interested in getting it. Special efforts should be made to have the paper received regularly the villages, enterprises, government offices and schools. There should be people entrusted with this responsibility. A wide network of agents of the paper should be built up. Particular efforts should be made to this end, because mass circulation cannot be

achieved otherwise. Furthermore, the paper should be comprehensible for youth, it should be interesting. It should correspond to the needs, interests and cultural requirements of youth. Fifteen thousand copies for your district is a very small circulation. The circulation and reading of this paper is a barometer for the consciousness and activity of the RMS in the district. It should also be arranged that the societies have definite members who see to the distribution of the periodical *Mladezh* too.

IV. DEFENCE OF THE INTERESTS AND RIGHTS OF YOUTH

As is known, there are many young people in the enterprises. In the tobacco factories, textile mills and elsewhere, they are the majority. The RMS should pay sufficient heed to improving the working conditions of these young people. In this respect constant solicitude should be shown. We say: 'The RMS is the defender of the material, cultural and spiritual interests of the youth.' This is written in the statute. But what do you do, as an organization, to defend the material, cultural and spiritual interests of the youth? You yourselves should realize this. This does not mean, of course, that you yourselves should start building rest homes, hostels and so on, because that is the business of the trade unions, the factory owners and the state. However, you can do a lot through the trade unions. But do it so as to have people know that it is your initiative and is done with your collaboration.

The RMS cannot be an organization confining itself to propaganda. The RMS is an organization necessary to the youth, necessary for their material, cultural and spiritual advance. That is why your work should be accompanied by practical activity in defence of youth's interests and rights.

So far you have done little in defence of youth's vital interests. That seems to me to be the Achilles' heel of RMS. You should pay great attention to this, manifesting the widest initiative, even in apparently trivial matters. You may learn, for instance, that one of your members has fallen seriously ill. If your organization sees to it that he is

taken to hospital and properly treated, that will be to your credit. The whole district or enterprise will learn about it. Solicitude, an attentive attitude to youth – within the scope of material possibilities, within the scope of what the Fatherland Front rule can give – are extremely necessary in all fields. And the framework is not narrow, it can be extended in practical activity. As long as you confine yourselves to propaganda, you will only be half successful. If you do not add practical activity in defence of youth, the drawing power of the RMS will grow weaker. And the enemies will avail themselves of this.

The youth must feel that the RMS is its adviser and defender everywhere. Do not neglect even the slightest things in this direction. Make use of every wedding of a young person, send someone to congratulate the newly-married couple. If a Remsist peasant girl is getting married, the League should take part in the wedding. If a child is born, or somebody's father or mother dies, a representative of the RMS should put in an appearance and give what help he can. Do not think that these things, insignificant as they may seem, will degrade the RMS as a militant organization. You yourselves must give this serious-thought; you may find many concrete methods of work. This must become a system with you. Do not miss anything which can bind you more strongly to youth. Youth must feel that the RMS is their own organization, to which they can turn for advice and help in case of need. Of course, were you to concern yourselves only with such matters, you would turn into an ordinary charitable organization. To avoid it, this work should be combined with your whole activity as a militant youth organization. At any rate, you should take an interest in your young people, because you are the responsible leaders of this youth. How many times have you gone to the factories to check for yourselves how the workers' youth work and live, and what you can do concretely to improve their situation? Yet you should constantly feel the pulse of the workers' youth. That is not solely a matter for the Workers' Youth Department. The leadership as a whole should concern itself with these vital questions and interests of the youth.

We have too much red tape. The secretary issues an order, for instance, and thinks: everything has been done therewith, everything is in order. But even in barracks one has to explain. The RMS is a voluntary youth organization: if the youth wants to, he will be a member, if not, he won't. You must create conditions which will make him feel morally gratified and proud to be a member of the RMS. Many Party leaders fail to realize this too. But for the youth this is still more necessary. They are at that age which is considered as the turning point from adolescence to maturity. During this period, youth passes through processes and experiences which may have a bad effect and can even be fatal. The leadership of the RMS should pay heed to this and keep an eye on things. Let us take the following example: falling in love is a legitimate natural feeling. But here anything may happen. Love is not always mutual, it sometimes causes suffering, emotion, and the young person may not be able to cope with these emotions. Depression sets in, melancholy... If the leader is a bureaucrat, he will notice, for instance, that this boy or girl is drooping, but he will pass them by – what does he care! But a true leader will show an attentive and comradely attitude, and find time to talk to the particular boy or girl, give them moral support and help them to find a way out of that situation. You will thus help many young people to cope with the difficulties of their daily life and to develop properly.

An attentive attitude and interest are necessary, and not indifference to the comrades, boys or girls, in the organization. This is human capital, the Party's and the RMS's capital. In a mass organization like the RMS there are unsound elements too, who abuse the trust of girls. I have received a number of letters with complaints of this kind. There are ne'er-do-wells who play at sincere love, and then cast the girl off. What measures does the RMS take? Should it act sternly and pedagogically or should it say: We are not interested in such personal matters. Such a callous, bureaucratic attitude is harmful to the development of the RMS and should be avoided at all costs. Love, as is known, is a great factor in people's lives. It can give

wings. But sound morals are needed, not hypocritical, protestant, but truly communist morals. It is very important that there should be sound mutual relations between the members of the RMS, boys and girls – relations of mutual confidence and fruitful co-operation to the advantage of our great common cause.

V. THE RMS AS A SCHOOL OF SOCIALISM

The RMS should be a school of socialism for the progressive youth. Concerning itself with current problems, with putting through the Fatherland Front programme, with the fulfilment of the tasks set in the agenda, fighting against fascism and reaction, the RMS is at the same time a school of socialism. We should have a worker, peasant, and school youth, who are ready to fight for socialism, and later on for communism.

Tell your comrades to read my address to the District Party Conference and to give it some thought. You should explain a simple truth to your people: when you want to build a house, you don't begin with the roof, but first you dig and lay the foundations, build the walls, and then make your roof. The struggle for socialism is a work of this nature too. One doesn't begin with the roof, one has to lay the foundations first. In our country today this foundation is precisely the fulfilment of the Fatherland Front programme. We must build upon it and then do the roofing. How soon we get to it will depend on many objective conditions, but it will also depend on ourselves, on the subjective factor. The better we work, the sooner we shall pass on to socialism. The peasant knows that he has to sow first and weed next, and then gather in a rich harvest. It is the same with public life. As Marxists we should know this simple truth: you plough, sow, weed, and then gather in a rich harvest. Many of our comrades, particularly young people, still fail to grasp this properly.

It is very important to have a proper perspective. All peoples are marching and will continue to march towards socialism. No power can stop this development towards

socialism. When and how the peoples will reach it, is another matter. And secondly: it should be known that they will follow their own path, not everywhere will they follow one and the same pattern. An armed uprising is not inevitably necessary; in certain conditions socialism may be attained without an armed uprising. These conditions now exist: on the one hand, a great socialist country with tremendous political and moral influence – the Soviet Union, and on the other – democratic transformations being put through in a number of countries, which clear the way to socialism.

Our fundamental task now is: 1. to strengthen the Fatherland Front as a mighty union of the anti-fascist, democratic and progressive forces of our nation in the front ranks of which the union of our youth should be; 2. mercilessly to uproot the remnants of fascism; 3. to curb reaction and 4. to bring to a victorious end the historic cause of September 9 – the construction of a People's Republic in our country. And the sooner we realize all this, the more surely will our people be able to pass over to socialism.

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There are people in our country who have learnt something of Marx, but have learnt it like parrots. They master Marx not creatively, as a guide to action, but dogmatically. We must be creative Marxists, however, i. e. we must see the new things which Lenin introduced after Marx. By intelligently assimilating the new things in Marxism, we shall be able to solve the problem of the transition from capitalism to socialism properly, with due regard to the concrete situation prevailing in our country, with due regard to its economic, cultural, national and historic particularities. If we master the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, this science will serve us as a guide to action and not as a prescription for all countries, all times and conditions. There is no such prescription, nor can there be any.

Mladezh magazine, No. 6, June 1946

*G. Dimitrov, Collected Works
Vol. 12, pp. 68-83*

THE TWO LESSONS

*Speech before the Parliamentary Group of the Bulgarian
Workers' Party (Communists)*

April 5, 1946

The government's declaration, the declaration of our parliamentary group and those of the other Fatherland Front parties are well known, and it is not necessary to speak much about them. These declarations reaffirmed and manifested once again the political unity between the Fatherland Front parties, i. e., the unity between the new Government, which is the second Fatherland Front government, and the National Assembly. Although in some parliamentary groups there are certain individuals who do not seem to be completely in favour of the firm and consistent pursuit of the Fatherland Front policy, these individuals, have not had the courage to express their attitude openly either in the National Assembly or out of it, because they feel the strong support of the people for the Fatherland Front. The great majority of the deputies, as you know, have taken a firm stand in favour of the positions expressed in the government's declaration.

Nevertheless, we should draw certain lessons from that has taken place in connection with the government's resignation and the formation of the second Fatherland Front Government.

The first lesson we should draw pertains to the opposition, the opposition groups. It is no secret that even in the ranks of the Fatherland Front there used to be people hoping that the leaders of the opposition groups would finally gain wisdom from the developments of events and place their self-seeking, petty party interests and considerations below the national interests of the Bulgarian people, and our country. These people sincerely believed this to be quite possible. The repeated attempt, however, to in-

clude two representatives of the opposition groups in the new Fatherland Front Government completely shattered these hopes. And this was no accident. It was no accident whatever that the opposition, on previous occasions and especially in the last attempt, displayed such intransigence, insistence, and political obstinacy. The opposition leaders behaved in this manner, because they represent precisely those elements and groups in our country which because their own selfish material interests stand against the Fatherland Front programme, against the stabilization of people's democracy in our country and against Slav solidarity in the struggle for peace and democracy would turn back the clock of history and replace the Fatherland Front as the guiding force of the fate of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people, by a new bourgeois-royalist coalition, which would impose the will of big profiteering and parasitic capital against our people's and country's interests.

In our domestic policy, this opposition has not been able to reconcile itself with the fact that the people have taken their fate in their own hands through the Fatherland Front. It cannot be reconciled and will never be, for if it did, it would deny the very reasons for its existence.

In the sphere of foreign policy, the opposition is not only in ideological and political solidarity with the monarcho-fascist reaction in Greece, Romania, Yugoslavia and other countries; it also maintains direct contact with the reaction outside Bulgaria. It rejoices at all and every difficulty of people's democracy in our country and the other countries. It is gratified by all and every temporary success of the reactionary circles in our neighbouring and more distant countries. It cheered the Pyrrhic victory of the Greek reactionaries – royalists and fascists – in the last pseudo-elections, although it is well aware that they are deadly enemies of our independence and freedom, that they impudently demand fantastic reparations from us and want to tear off, with foreign assistance, integral parts of Bulgaria's territory. It is profoundly embittered by the imprisonment of Drazha Mihailovic, its former ally, who is the enemy of our fraternal Yugoslavia.

The opposition in our country is, therefore, a reactionary opposition. It is anti-Soviet, anti-Yugoslav and anti-communist. Our opposition relies on the discord among the Great Powers – the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States. It builds all its hopes of eventual success in Bulgaria on deteriorations of relations among the three powers and, as you have noticed in its press and propaganda throughout the country, it deliberately does all in its power to prompt and assist tension in the relations between the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and Great Britain and the United States, on the other. It was precisely for this purpose that the opposition leaders behaved as they did in connection with the negotiations for the formation of the government, whereby they frustrated the implementation of the Moscow decision for the second time.

All this comes to show, that it is a *political necessity* for our nation to isolate, as soon as possible, this malignant reactionary opposition from social and political life in our country and to keep it in check.

Our people can no longer tolerate to have anyone hinder the consolidation of democracy in our country, the rehabilitation of the nation's economy, the satisfaction of the vital needs of the people, favourable settlement of Bulgaria's international position and the conclusion of a just and well-deserved peace.

The fact that the two opposition groups call themselves Fatherland Front Opposition is only a mask, a means of deceiving the people. In its essence, this opposition is an anti-Fatherland Front opposition, an anti-national one. It is the duty of our Party, the task of all Fatherland Front parties, and of all progressive forces in our country to oust these groups as soon as possible, to isolate them completely in the interest of the Bulgarian people, and their democratic development and prosperity.

The sooner all honest people misled by these opposition groups are drawn back into the ranks of the Fatherland Front, the sooner the credulous Bulgarian citizens deceived by the opposition leaders find right path to the Fatherland Front, the better it will be. The fewer will be the obstacles impeding the settlement of matters facing the Fatherland Front, its National Assembly and its Government – the

speedier and more successful the building of a new, democratic and prosperous Bulgaria.

But there is also a *second not less important lesson* which should be drawn. It pertains to the Fatherland Front itself, to the parties which compose the Fatherland Front. We know and have stressed many times that the Fatherland Front is primarily a union of the anti-fascist, democratic progressive forces of our people, but at the same time it is also a block of the anti-fascist, democratic parties of which it is composed. The former and latter are equally necessary. These are *two aspects of one and the same thing*.

As to its role as a social and political organism, the Fatherland Front has shown undoubted staunchness and vitality in connection with the change of government. But just as the healthiest organism can sometimes have boils, the bursting and cleaning of which both protects it from unnecessary sufferings and *makes it still stronger*, so in connection with the formation of the second Fatherland Front Government, certain weaknesses, negative aspects, tendencies towards careerism and group considerations have appeared in some circles. The unsound elements, which also existed before, were particularly manifested during the negotiations for the formation of the new government. It became clear that in some parliamentary groups there were individuals who held one foot in the Fatherland Front, and the other outside it and who did not share the views the masses supporting the Fatherland Front.

This comes to show that our Party and our allies in the Fatherland Front are bound, *with joint efforts, to put an end to these unsound and harmful tendencies as soon as possible*. It is necessary to expose with facts and denounce every one who impedes the consistent pursuit of the Fatherland Front policy, everyone who weakens the unity of the Fatherland Front by his conduct and discredits the Fatherland Front Government in the eyes of the people, irrespective of the social or government post he may occupy. It would be naïve to believe that this may destroy the strong interaction and co-operation between the Fatherland Front parties. On the contrary, friendly criticism and exposure,

where necessary, will consolidate the unity of the Fatherland Front and its ties with the people.

We should never forget that not by glossing over and concealing our weaknesses and shortcomings, but by confessing them openly and removing them resolutely shall we guarantee the success of our common national cause.

In the third place, we should proceed from the presumption that now, after the formation of the second Fatherland Front Government, the vicious attacks against the Fatherland Front will be intensified. We should bear in mind that its despair and bitterness the completely bankrupt political opposition will not refrain from terrorist acts and diversion to sow discord in our country, to hamper the people's constructive work, to multiply and complicate the difficulties of supplying the population with foodstuffs and clothing and the cattle with forage, of satisfying the vital needs of the country, and implementing the government's construction programme and economic plan. The opposition cliques even now count with malicious joy on the hardships we meet in food supply before the new harvest has been brought in. They see in these hardships true allies in their struggle against the people's rule.

The diabolical schemings of reaction should be nipped in the bud. There should be no kind-heartedness or complacency on our part in this respect.

What happened next door to the National Assembly during its first session after the formation of the new government – the setting of the University on fire – should be a warning to all of us, to our whole nation. It looks like a demonstration on the part of our enemies against the National Assembly, against the Fatherland Front and its Government. In connection with this, it is necessary to reinforce the guarding of enterprises, offices, warehouses, transport, and others. The actions of suspicious persons should be watched both by the people's militia and the Fatherland Front committees. The whole population should be mobilized to keep an eye on what the reaction and foreign agents are doing. All the more that the campaign against Bulgaria is evidently connected with similar

campaigns against Yugoslavia, Romania and other democratic countries – it is carried on an all-Balkan scale. We should be at our post. *The whole nation should be on the alert to avoid any dangerous surprises to our country.*

There is no need of my assuring you that the disigns of our enemies will not succeed. *The Fatherland Front has struck such strong roots in the people, that no attack from withing or without can weaken their trust, if we ourselves do not make slips for our enemies to exploit.* The Fatherland Front has all and every opportunity to consolidate itself as a democratic, anti-fascist union of our nation. The historic cause of September 9 will prevail completely and irrevocably.

Being as it is the strongest, best organized, disciplined, most coherent and active political force in the Fatherland Front, our Party *bears the greatest responsibility for our people's and the country's fate.* This role obliges us both as a party and as a parliamentary group to strengthen unrelentingly our organizations, to activate our hundreds of thousands of members and supporters in town and country for constructive work, to keep still closer to the people, to live with their needs and aspirations, to be in the vanguard of the fighters for their prosperity and well-being, in the vanguard of those who are building a new, democratic Bulgaria.

Rabotnichesko, Delo, No. 79
April 10, 1946.

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 12, pp. 98-105
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OUR NATION IS SMALL, BUT HARBOURS A PRONOUNCED NATIONAL PRIDE

Speech at the Dinner in Honour of John Mack

April 12, 1946

On behalf of the Workers' Party (Communists) and on my own behalf I should like to raise this glass in honour of our welcome guest and good friend, who is now with us. John Mack⁵² is the first British public figure and politician visiting new, democratic Bulgaria without any prejudices, as a friend. He was able to see for himself at the big square in front of the National Assembly today, and in this cordial atmosphere for several hours this evening, that our people – who are related to the great Russian people and our Yugoslav brothers by blood and historical ties, with all their hearts and minds – also harbour friendly feelings and gratitude towards the great British people. He has had the opportunity, and will have many other occasions in the countryside, to convince himself that even though ours is only a small nation, it harbours in its heart a pronounced national pride.

Never has this people wanted or sought alms from anyone, nor does it seek any now. For decades it fought against the cruel, savage fascist dictatorship. It gave thousands of priceless sacrifices in this struggle. It did not bow its head or fall on its knees. It bore the heavy cross of the struggle for national independence with pride and countless sufferings. Until on September 9, the historical cause of which we all regard as sacred for the Bulgarian people, with the fraternal aid of the Red Army, it broke the heavy oppressive shackles of fascist dictatorship. Since

that time our democratic people has been building a new, democratic Bulgaria in spite of great difficulties, with a grim heritage from the past, with last year's unprecedented dry season and with hostile acts of diversion from within and without. Our people continues the struggle to consolidate its independence and freedom. I am convinced that comrade John Mack will have sufficient arguments to show the British public that the refusal to recognize the Bulgarian Government, the Government of the Fatherland Front, elected at the free democratic elections on November 18 last year, is a flagrant injustice to Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people. We Bulgarians do not ask for mercy, we only ask for fair treatment, fair treatment from the British people, fair treatment from the Americans, fair treatment from the French, fair treatment from all the Great Powers. And when this fair treatment is given us, for we have proved worthy of it through our sacrifices, bloodshed and dedicated constructive work, there will be no misunderstanding whatever with respect to the Bulgarian people. Unfortunately, all those who have not recognized the Government of Fatherland Front Bulgaria are prejudiced against it.

I think that we should feel fortunate to have with us such an outstanding politician as comrade John Mack.

I hope that this will not be his last visit to our country. And I hope that other politicians will also come after him, to see and hear with their own eyes and ears what our people think and say, what heroic efforts they are making to save our country from prejudices, from false information and selfish group interests, detrimental to peace.

Let us drink a toast to comrade John Mack, to the Labour Party whose M.P. he is, to socialism which he serves and for which he is fighting, to the national freedom and independence of our industrious upright and valourous people, to the fact that comrade John Mack is an independent and honest politician and that he has not succumbed to the intrigues and slanders spread around, that we, Fatherland Front Bulgaria, are opposed to Britain and America. We are opposed to British and American intrigues, to foreign fabrications, but not to the British and

American people, with whom we wish to live in most friendly relations, parallel to our friendship with the great Russian people.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 83
April 15, 1946.

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 12, pp. 116-118
Published by the BCP

I was greatly surprised to learn that you used the speech I made at the Sofia District Conference of the Bulgarian Communist Party in your dispute with British communists. Among other things, you made the following comment: 'Dimitrov states without hesitation that the aim of the communists is to stab the social-democratic parties in the back.' I wonder how you could draw such a wrong conclusion, since I have neither said nor written such a thing anywhere.

You probably know that as early as in 1933, at the Leipzig Fire Trial, I defended, with shackled hands, to the best of my ability not only the German communists, but also the German social-democrats against the enraged Nazis. I openly summoned the former and latter to fight together against fascism and to unite into a single anti-fascist workers' party. In addition, you certainly know that at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935 I substantiated in detail the thesis of the necessity of joint action on the part of the communist and social-democratic parties and the formation of a powerful united international front in the fight against fascism and against the preparations of the German fascists for a war of plunder against the freedom-loving peoples. You certainly know about the repeated appeals of the Communist International to the Socialist International before the war for joint action against the common fascist enemy.

It is no secret to anyone that in my country, Bulgarian communists and social-democrats are working and fighting hand in hand, in perfect unison, in the ranks of the Fatherland Front, which has rescued our people from a terrible disaster.

I am profoundly convinced that today, after the bitter consequences of the last world war, the integration of com-

munists and social-democrats into a unified party of the working class, as a decisive factor of genuine democracy, is a historic necessity. And naturally, he who stands in the way of this integration, directly or indirectly, cannot be considered as a real friend of the working class and democracy, still less of lasting peace among nations.

Since every honest citizen, and especially every honest socialist, should respect the truth above everything else, I am inclined to believe that you yourself will find it fair to correct the error into which you have fallen with regard to my speech and will give the British working people the correct information, I trust that you will kindly inform me of it.⁵⁴

In anticipation of your reply,

G. Dimitrov

Sofia, May 10, 1946

G. Dimitrov, *Works*

Vol. 12, pp. 161-162

Published by the BCP, 1954

NO POWER CAN DEPOSE THE FATHERLAND FRONT

Speech before Shock-Workers of the Pernik Coal Mines

June 2, 1946

Comrades coal miners,

Allow me, on behalf of the Workers' Party (Communists) and on my own behalf to extend most heartfelt greetings to you and to all shock-workers and heroes of labour in our coal mines, who are the pride of the Bulgarian working class and the Bulgarian people. I wish you to do your job as shock-workers with still greater energy, persistence and devotion to our fatherland and with your splendid example to multiply the number of new shock-workers, who raise and set new, higher production targets, who forge the happiness of the working class, the happiness of our nation. Long live our glorious shock-workers!

It gives me particular pleasure to be among you again at the Pernik Mines. This occasion, however, has come too late, I should say. But I recall at this moment, and would also like to remind other of your colleagues and you, who are younger, what this place looked like 40 years ago. In October, 1905, I came here for the first time on behalf of our Party and the General Workers' Trade Union in Pernik, to look for miners who would join me in trying to lay the foundations of a miners' trade union. At that time I found only a few followers. It was a dark, pitch-black night. Pernik was a small domain of darkness, slavery and terrible poverty. The miners were deprived of all rights and subjected to the arbitrary will and oppression of the mine management, the reactionary-minded engineers, and the reactionary government itself. These few miners set their minds seriously on altering this state of affairs and forging an organized force which would be capable of defending

the miners' life, rights and interests. Later on, these miners became twelve, like the apostles in the biblical legend. With great efforts, and sufferings, and surmounting countless difficulties, persecutions and sufferings, the number of organized coal miners steadily grew larger and larger.

It is to the work of this small group of pioneers that the present powerful Coal Miners' Union owes its existence.

Several months later, in June 1906, the general strike of the Pernik coal miners was declared. It lasted 35 days against a brutal state power (the mine was also state-owned in those days), against a government which had no respect for the interests, rights and human dignity of the Pernik coal miners. The newly organized Pernik miners fought heroically for 35 days with the aid of comrades in the neighbouring villages, who resembled the rear of an army in battle, with the aid of workers and peasants all over the country, who sent the strikers foodstuffs, bread and money and with the aid of the honest people's intelligentsia, especially that of the university students who spent 35 days with the miners, like apostles and agitators, to see to it that no traitors, no strike-breakers appeared. This strike, which will remain memorable in the history of both the miners' movement and in the entire workers' movement of our country, ended in recognition – the first recognition on the part of the state of a trade union in Bulgaria – of the Coal Miners' Union. The Pernik miners then won the right to settle their dispute with the mine management and the Ministry of Trade through their own organization, their own club and their own committee, with honour and dignity. This was a great success, indeed! It was a success, above all, in the sense that it raised the miners' self-confidence. They felt that now, standing united, organized and supported by the working class and the masses of working peasantry, they could fight for their rights, liberties and interests with success, and would no longer be subjected to humiliation and scorn as before. Comrades, exactly 40 years have elapsed since that time. During these 40 years our mines have experienced a lot – both victories and defeats. They lost many men. The greatest victim given by

the Miners' Union and the working class was the loss of Temelko Nenkov, leader of the Pernik miners, who was assassinated basely and savegely by the fascists. Let us pay tribute to his radiant, glorious memory by rising up and keeping a minute's silence!

Comrades, the Pernik miners did not bow their heads during the fascist regime, either. Digging coal in the galleries with clenched teeth and fists, they dug the grave of the fascist dictatorship side by side with the Bulgarian people. In the historic cause of September 9, the Pernik miners took a most active part as well. *September 9 was a victory, a great victory for the Pernik miners themselves.*

And now, after September 9, the Pernik miners have been working with diligence for a year and a half to rehabilitate the nation's economy. They are creating the power which, as was already mentioned here, drives the machinery of industry, drives the trains and vehicles, and supplies our country with heat and light.

If the working class, together with the peasantry, forms the basis, the granite basis of the Fatherland Front and the people's rule, established since September 9, *the miners and transport workers are the vanguard of the working class* and form the fundament of that basis of the Fatherland Front and the people's rule. Over a year and a half our People's Government has done a great deal in all sectors: consolidating the democratic rule in our country, reconstructing the state and socio-political life along democratic lines, in the economic sector, in labour protection, improving the living and cultural standards of the working class and of all working people in Bulgaria. But what has been done is far too little. The main and most important task facing working class and particularly our miners, a task which faces our whole nation, has not yet been accomplished. *We are faced with the task of creating, of building our People's Republic.* Such a people's republic, as will give us all the material, political, cultural and moral guarantees against a restoration of the dismal past; a people's republic which will leave no room for ruthless profiteering and parasitic capital; which will leave no room for loafers, profiteers, plunderers and oppressors of the

people; a people's republic which will confirm once and for all the principle that labour is the supreme and decisive factor in our country; such a people's republic, Comrades, which will translate into reality the principle that he who is able to work, but does not wish to work, does not wish to be of use to society – shall not eat! Such a people's republic, which will secure the democratic development of our country, onward and onward. All goods – material, cultural and spiritual, should go only to those who work, who create or who have created wealth for the people's well-being!

We are faced with the task of doing our utmost, of exerting all our energies and utilizing all available resources in our country, to guarantee the economic progress of the Bulgarian nation, because there can be no lasting freedom and national independence for us, if we do not possess economic power of our own. We are faced with the big task of carrying on the fight as one united nation, with the aid of our great friends, the Soviet nations, our other Slav brothers, and our numerous democratic friends in Western Europe and America *for securing a just and favourable peace for Bulgaria!*

These are great tasks, tasks of historic significance! All difficulties should be overcome. For this purpose, the people should stand united. The Fatherland Front, which guarantees the future happiness of our country, should be consolidated in every respect, especially at this moment, when side by side with reaction a number of pseudo-Fatherland Front members are raising their voices in an attempt to crush this mighty force of our nation from within.

You probably remember the fable by Krilov, the great Russian writer: an eagle, a lobster and a pike decided to drive a cart together, but the eagle pulled upwards, the lobster pulled backwards and the pike downwards, till the cart finally sank in the marsh. Our people, we, communists, and our good allies, the Fatherland Front members, will not leave our state cart in the hands of such eagle, lobster and pike. *The unity of the government, the indissoluble unity of the Fatherland Front is of vital necessity.* Uni-

ty not in word, but in deed. We all are fed up with fine declarations; the people want deeds, useful deeds, in the true spirit of the Fatherland Front!

Naïve are those who imagine and hope that when the Soviet troops leave Bulgaria, they will raise their flag and the Fatherland Front will be done for. There are such persons in the army too. They are too foolish to understand that the Fatherland Front, and the people's rule today do not owe their power to the presence of the Soviet troops. The source of power of our people's rule lies in the people themselves, in the working class, the peasants and the people's intelligentsia. The Soviet troops may go, they have not been assigned the task of staying in our country forever, but the people will stay. The Fatherland Front will stay, it has taken deep roots, and these roots cannot be severed by any force.

The rumours, however, which the people's enemies are spreading that when the Soviet troops leave Bulgaria, the Fatherland Front will be done for, are indicative. They are a signal for us and for you, for our whole people. What does this mean? It means that the reactionary forces are rallying – the legionaries, Macedonian terrorists, reactionary officers, various profiteers and other miscreant elements in our country. They are conspiring, they are preparing to take anti-national action.

There is an ill-fated writer – Trifon Kounev, or Trifonson, as he is ironically called, who has published a pamphlet of his 'Brief Anecdotes' which appear in the 'Green Banner'. The preface of this pamphlet says that this work should contribute to the victory of the 'resistance movement' in present-day Bulgaria. He let the cat out of the bag and stated openly what lay in his sinister soul. What is this resistance movement, against whom is it directed? It is against the people and the people's government, siding with those who shall go and stay in the archives of history, because they are useless and harmful. Every reasonable man in our country is aware that *there is no force which can oust the Fatherland Front, because it represents the great majority of the people, its best and strongest part.* But there are scheming people capable of performing

acts of terror, and murdering from ambush; there are monsters who can check for a while, in one way or another, the people's constructive work; there are agents of other countries, who may upset and sabotage the people's efforts to build a new Bulgaria, in the field of production, in social life and the administration. These evil and sinister circles are not slumbering, they are grouping themselves and making preparations, that is why our people should be on the alert, they should be mobilized to act any moment.

There are adventurers who want to cause civil war, who hope to come to power with foreign aid. They want it and they may try for it. If they do, the people will teach them such a lesson, which they will never forget as long as they live and breathe! But it is not in the people's interest, and in the interest of our normal democratic development and economic rehabilitation, to allow things to go that far. The best medicine is that which not only cures sicknesses, when they appear, but which also prevents them in time. In our case this means, speaking politically, not to cope with the agents-provocateurs and adventurers when they have risen against the people's rule, but to secure such vigilance in town and country, at offices and in the army, everywhere and right away, so as to foil the lest attempt on their part to upset the law and order in our country. *Our national spirit should be watchful, alive, mobilized.* And you, when you hew coal under the ground, when you try to provide those 10,000 tons of coal every day, which are so necessary and which do you great credit as miners, remember and be ready, if it should be necessary, to leave your instruments for a few hours and fly to Sofia!

I must warn from this rostrum all terrorist groups and organizations such as the Khan Kroum organization discovered in the army, their secret patrons and connivers, to think well before they play with this dangerous fire, because we are able to safeguard our homeland from it, but they will be burnt up without fail. *We want to have peace, law and order in our Bulgarian home!* The people want to create things peacefully and confidently, to build up new,

democratic Bulgaria. And he who stands in their constructive path, will be swept away.

Comrades, your meeting coincides with the commemorative celebrations of Hristo Botev, our great national hero, revolutionary and poet. He is without equal to this day in Bulgaria in his greatness and the important role he played for the Bulgarian National Revival, for Bulgarian freedom and independence. I would like to round off my address with the appeal: Let us serve our nation and country with the same honesty, devotion and selflessness, with which Hristo Botev served his people; let us fight the people's enemies as fearlessly as Hristo Botev, the revolutionary.

Long live our heroic working class, which stands in the vanguard of production and of the effort to improve our economy, to increase our economic power!

Long live the friendship between workers, peasants and the faithful people's intelligentsia, because this friendship forms the backbone of the Fatherland Front, of the union of the democratic, anti-fascist section and forces of our nation!

Long live our brave coal miners; especially the shock-workers! Long live those miners in particular, who regularly punch their card and who do their utmost to increase labour productivity.

Long live the Miners' Union, to which, to my great pleasure, I feel extremely close.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 121
June 4, 1946

G. Dimitrov, Works
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A WARNING CALL

It is with a sense of sincere appreciation of his exceptional services to our country that we honour the bright memory of *Alexander Stamboliiski*,⁵⁵ the great son of our people, public worker and statesman.

Alexander Stamboliiski's merit, the merit of this real democrat, republican and daring fighter for popular justice, consists above all in the fact that he was the *first* to make a serious attempt to curb the anti-popular domestic and foreign policy of the capitalist and profiteering clique clustering round the Coburg dynasty and to direct Bulgaria's policy along new, democratic lines in the interest of the people and for the country's bright future. If Alexander Stamboliiski was not able to carry out this attempt with success, this was mainly due to the fact that he and his associates succumbed to the erroneous concept that it was possible to have a purely peasant government, without the workers and even against them. It was also due to the fact that in that period the Communist Party had not yet adopted correctly and in practice the great idea of a worker-peasant alliance. As we know, on June 9 the Communist Party remained 'neutral', a blunder which it had to redeem dearly.

Hence, owing to the disunity of the working class and peasantry, of the Communist Party and the Agrarian Union, Stamboliiski's constitutional and parliamentary government was forcefully ousted on June 9, 1923, and Stamboliiski was meanly and savagely murdered together with dozens of his true associates by the fascist hangmen, who later did away with a large part of the leaders and members of the Communist Party as well.

Three months after this bitter lesson for the Bulgarian people, i.e. on September 23, 1923, the workers and peasants were led by the Communist Party, in fraternal militant alliance with the Agrarian Union, into a revolt against the fascist government of the bloodthirsty Tsankov

and King Boris, his protector. This first mass-scale anti-fascist people's uprising against fascism met with disaster, but the blood shed in it by communists and agrarians sealed forever the fraternal union between workers and peasants in our country. It laid the foundation upon which later, in the heroic, long struggle against fascism and the German invaders, the union of the anti-fascist, democratic and progressive forces developed as the powerful Fatherland Front.

Hence, our people drew the greatest and most valuable lesson from the events of 1923 – that neither the working class nor the peasantry could get rid of fascism and reaction by acting apart from each other, that they could not secure the country's democratic development and pave the way for the people to take their fate in their own hands. Only in indissoluble fraternal union with each other could they break the chains of economic and political oppression, of all spiritual and cultural obscurantism, and join hands with the other anti-fascist and democratic forces in our country to build a new, free, independent, democratic and republican Bulgaria.

The historic date of September 9, 1944 marks primarily the triumph of the worker-peasant alliance, which is the backbone of the Fatherland Front. Precisely this alliance is the chief guarantee for the final fulfilment of the Fatherland Front programme. That is why we should keep it as the apple of our eye and strengthen it in every respect – this will be the best tribute to Alexander Stamboliiski, the glorious popular hero and martyr, and to the thousands of fighters who fell for the homeland's freedom and prosperity.

May this warning call be echoed all over the country and reach the most distant village house: let us defend the historic cause of September 9, 1944 with might and main, that we may not suffer again the tragedy which befell us on June 9, 1923!

*Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 125
June 8, 1946
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FOR AN ACTUAL PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC.

*Declaration on behalf of the Parliamentary Group of the
Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) at the National
Assembly*

July 25, 1946

Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of Parliament!

The Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), true to its traditions and fundamental principles and to the will of our people, took an active part in working out the Act on Abolition of the Monarchy and Proclamation of a People's Republic and on the Convention of a Grand National Assembly. Its Parliamentary group will cast its vote un-animously for this historic law which proclaims the final liquidation of the monarchy and the forthcoming establishment of a people's republic.

Bypassing the Act, our National Assembly will proceed to the actual settlement of a problem which has long been ripe in our country. It will put into effect one of the basic devices of the historic date of September 9 and one of the basic points of the Fatherland Front programme. It will round off the people's long struggle against monarchy and the Coburg dynasty – the dynasty which has caused so many evils to our country and people.

On September 8 the Bulgarian people will pass as a supreme judge their final verdict on the monarchy in our country, and on the criminal foreign and anti-national Coburg dynasty.

The Referendum in favour of a people's republic will be a great triumph for our Bulgarian people's democracy.

The Grand National Assembly will fulfil the task of working out a new Constitution for Bulgaria. It will not be a reactionary, conservative, bourgeois-republican constitution, which would confirm, in one form or another, the

domination of the big capitalists and financial magnates of Bulgarian and foreign cartels and trusts over the people.

Article 12 of the draft formulates perfectly clearly, though in brief, the fundamental principles of the new Constitution. The point is not only to proclaim Bulgaria a republic, but to guarantee the popular, democratic character of this republic. We are not in favour of just any sort of republic. What our people demand is not a republic in general, but an actually people's republic – a kind of people's republic, which will provide the necessary material, political, cultural and moral guarantees against a restoration of the dark and disgraceful past; a kind of people's republic which will secure our country's democratic development, forward and always forward; a kind of people's republic, in which there will be no room for rapacious, profiteering and parasitic capital; in which there will be no room for parasites, profiteers, plunderers and oppressors of our people. Our people demand a people's republic which will consolidate once and for all the principle that labour should be the decisive socio-economic factor in our country, that the land should belong to those who cultivate it, that all subsoil and surface resources should belong to the people, that women should have the same rights as men, and young people should enjoy ample scope for development and public activity. Our working people demand a people's republic which will put into effect the principle: he who is able to work but does not wish to do so, who does not wish to do work useful to society, should not eat – should not have access to the people's material, cultural and spiritual wealth.

The Grand National Assembly, which will embody and guarantee in the fundamental law of the country, in the new Constitution, all the political, economic, cultural and social gains of the Bulgarian people in their long struggles against foreign oppression, monarchism, fascism and reaction, will at the same time bar the way of any possible restoration, of any repetition of the past and will prepare the ground for further social developments along the line of progress and general prosperity.

There are bourgeois constitutionalist authorities in our

country, who suggest that the old Turnovo Constitution be used as the basis, with only a few alterations. These pretentious gentlemen, evidently, have not forgotten all that is old and have not learned anything new. They do not take into consideration the profound democratic changes already made in our country. They also overlook the fact that *once the people's republic has been proclaimed, the question which first comes up is not how to alter the old Constitution, but how to create a perfectly new one – a Constitution of the People's Republic.*

What is more, even the most ignorant Bulgarian knows that it would be perfectly unwise to pour new wine into old, stale barrels. New Bulgaria does not need a mended, old and threadbare state cloak, but a new and hard wearing garment. Our state system needs a new organizational basis and new forms. We are resolved to march, side by side with all young, democratic nations, along the path of a new, actual people's democracy, and not along the old path of formal, pseudo-democracy, which history itself has discarded. For this path is the only one which can secure the freedom and independence of our homeland, the progress and bright future of our nation.

We hold the firm view that the elections for the Grand National Assembly shall give prominence to the worthiest and most devoted sons and daughters of our people, representing all social sections. At the same time, we declare categorically that the elections for the Grand National Assembly will guarantee free participation both of the Fatherland Front parties and of all other legally existing political groups of the opposition.

We all know that these opposition groups were given the opportunity of participating in the elections for the 26th National Assembly, but they decided to boycott the elections, by their foolishness and faint-heartedness. It is quite natural to assume that this time, after the bitter experience of their ill-fated boycott, they will not be inclined to repeat last year's political error.

At any rate, it is in the country's interest that by means of their vote for a Grand National Assembly the people should put an end to the fallacy that the reaction in our

country has sunk serious roots in their ranks. On October 27 the world will be able to see that the Bulgarian people are really a democratic and progressive nation, which has drawn every possible lesson from its past sufferings and will never again have its forces, territory and material resources used for anti-national and anti-democratic purposes, for military adventures and predatory aggressive wars. Our nation is firmly and steadfastly resolved, hand-in-hand with the great Soviet Union, its other Slav brothers and all democratic nations, to be henceforward a sound element of democracy, peace and fraternal international co-operation.

Death to the hateful monarchy and the accursed fascism!

Long live the invincible Fatherland Front!

Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 168

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THREE MAJOR NATIONAL TASKS

Three major national tasks confront our country today. The attention and the forces of the people, the Fatherland Front and its Government, of the Fatherland Front political parties and public organizations, as well as of all Bulgarian patriots must at present be concentrated on solving these tasks.

The first major national task is to secure a just and honourable peace. In addition to what has already been done in this respect, we must make it quite clear at the Paris Peace Conference that Bulgaria deserves to be treated as a belligerent nation against nazi Germany and not as her satellite.

As regards the conclusion and signing of the peace treaty, there is no doubt that this can be done only with the Fatherland Front Government, which alone represents Bulgaria and has the sole right to speak on behalf of the Bulgarian nation and to assume any obligations and terms concerning our country.

The second major national task is the plebiscite on the question of abolishing the monarchy and establishing a People's Republic. Our entire people must take a conscious and active part in this historical act. Every elector or electress, loving their country, should take part in the plebiscite with the tricolour ballot, bearing the inscription: 'For a People's Republic.' The plebiscite on September 8 must become a nation-wide victory over all vestiges of the loathed monarchy and its fascist, reactionary supporters, over all obscure, anti-popular forces, over all elements wishing to turn back the clock of history. The plebiscite campaign and the political explanatory work must clear the way for the building up of tomorrow's People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The third major national task is the holding of elections for the Grand National Assembly, which is to draft and adopt

a new constitution – the constitution of the People's Republic, as well as to legislate for a one-year period.

The election campaign for the Grand National Assembly should secure the election as deputies of the most loyal and worthy sons and daughters of our people, representing all their strata, as well as give the people an opportunity to discuss and express their opinion on the basic aspects of the future constitution so as to make it truly popular and democratic. In this way the Grand National Assembly will be facilitated in the final solution of the constitutional problem, which is of such crucial importance to our country.

A number of prerequisites are necessary for the successful settlement of these three major national tasks in the interests of our nation and the future of our country. The first and foremost among them is undoubtedly the staunch anti-fascist, democratic unity of our people, embodied in the Fatherland Front. This unity must be cemented to the utmost, especially among the rank-and-file in town and countryside. Parallel with this, the mutual understanding and loyal collaboration among the five anti-fascist, democratic parties, heading the Fatherland Front and constituting the nation's government, must be secured to the full. The existing temporary misunderstandings, due mainly to the presence of pseudo-Fatherland Front and oppositionist elements within the ranks of the Fatherland Front, must be dispelled as soon as possible. The Fatherland Front parties must boldly purge their own ranks of such obnoxious guests, of men sitting on two chairs, pursuing a double-faced policy and upsetting good relations between the parties by their actions.

At the same time prompt and firm measures must be taken to rid the state apparatus of pro-fascists, saboteurs and wreckers, who hamper the pursuit of a democratic home, economic and foreign policy and deliberately cause resentment against the people's power.

As is known, by decision of the National Assembly and through a special committee, comprising representatives of all parliamentary groups, the Government undertook to

purge the army of fascist, oppositionist and anti-democratic elements and to make it a really popular and efficient army, a loyal, unflinching guardian of freedom and democracy, of our supreme national interests. This healing process, which is yet to yield its rich fruit, is not directed, of course, against the officers' corps in general. On the contrary, freeing the officers' corps from unsuitable elements, this process serves its interests. Rid of these elements, the officers' corps will acquire the necessary stability so as to be able, calmly and wholeheartedly, to perform its extremely important and responsible job. As far as the dismissed non-fascist officers are concerned, they will be offered corresponding material and other facilities to organize their civil status in such a way as to be, if they show good will, quite useful citizens.

It is, however, imperative to purge the other departments, too, particularly the economic ministries and boards, as well as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Education. Analogically, Art. 4 of the Law on Army Direction and Control may serve as a guiding principle in this respect.

The Fatherland Front must remove resolutely all obstacles, blocking the implementation of its programme. With an iron broom it must sweep away the evil legacy of the past: all irregularities and abuses; as well as all corruption, especially in the field of food supply and distribution, delivery quotas, etc., which, unfortunately, still exist in Bulgaria on a not insignificant scale. *And this must be done regardless of the social status, rank and party affiliation of the persons concerned.*

The present moment imperatively demands of the Fatherland Front, its parties, its Government and its National Assembly to appear before the people firmly united with an untarnished reputation and a high sense of public and state responsibility, as well as with a good record benefiting our country.

Let us not forget that the working class and the toiling peasantry, as well as our own Party which occupies a

special position in the political life of our country, bear the greatest responsibility for the proper solution of the three major national tasks in question.

Rabotnichesko Delo, No 171
August 1, 1946
G. Dimitrov, Works
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THE BULGARIAN WOMAN HAS WON A PLACE OF HONOUR IN OUR COUNTRY

*Speech at the Plenary Session of the Bulgarian National
Women's Union*

August 5, 1946

Dear Comrades,

It is my particularly pleasant duty, on behalf of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) and personally, to greet your Plenary Session and, in its person, all patriotic Bulgarian women – fighters for the cause of the Fatherland Front and the Bulgarian People's Democracy. At the same time I would like to publicly express our gratitude to the Bulgarian women for their great merits in the historical victory of September 9, as well as for the services they rendered, in town and countryside, in factories, offices, schools and elsewhere, to the democratic reconstruction and economic and cultural renovation of our country since September 9.

Comrades, history will never forget the heroic feats of the Bulgarian partisan women in the popular struggle against fascism and the German troops of occupation. Many thousands of women from town and countryside, women-workers and women-intellectuals, manifested rare self-denial, helping and giving shelter to partisans and underground fighters at the risk of their own and their children's life. Since September 9, tens of thousands of Bulgarian women have performed miracles of heroism and patriotism in towns and villages, in enterprises and offices for the rehabilitation of the nation's wartime economy, for the consolidation of the democratic order in Bulgaria, and in taking care of orphans – victims of fascism and the War of Liberation. Our people will never forget what

Bulgarian women have done, sending gifts and cheering letters and giving sisterly and maternal advice to the units of the First Bulgarian Army which fought nazi Germany and shed their blood for the freedom and independence of our nation.

Never will our people forget this love, devotion and self-denial of our women. I venture to state publicly and without exaggerating that, but for this participation of the Bulgarian women, the struggle of the people and army would not have been crowned by so brilliant a victory over the enemy. The patriotic Bulgarian woman has proved worthy of her Soviet, Yugoslav and other democratic sisters. Through her work, struggle and self-denial, her maternal and sisterly love, she has won a place of honour in our country and on the international arena, respectively in the International Federation of Democratic Women. The Bulgarian National Women's Union is not at the tail-end; on the contrary – it is in the front ranks and is being held up as an example. Once our new constitution, the constitution of the future People's Republic, definitely consolidates the democratic gains of our nation and all the rights of woman, on an equal basis with man, the Bulgarian woman will be able to develop still more her forces and abilities for the good of the country.

Comrades, your Plenary Session takes place at a most important moment. You are aware of it, and it became still more clear to you from the report read here. This is the moment when a resolute struggle for a just and lasting peace is being waged.

The struggle waged by the peoples, headed by our great friend – the Soviet Union, against the remnants of fascism and the new warmongers, must be conducted with still greater intensity, because here and there doors are being opened for the rebirth of fascism and a resumption of fascist aggression. You are keeping abreast and you must keep abreast still more attentively of all information on what is going on in connection with the establishment of a new peace in the world. You should know about the great obstacles the work of establishing a lasting and just peace among peoples meets with. There are forces which

hamper the establishment of a lasting peace and are interested in a temporary and unstable peace, to be followed within a decade or two by a new, still more terrible war with atom bombs, which were unknown in the last war. That is why the cause of peace is making slow progress. That is why one foreign ministers' conference is followed by another, as you already know. That is why the Paris Peace Conference, at which the peace treaties with the former satellites of nazi Germany – Italy, Bulgaria, Romania, Finland and Hungary – are negotiated, is not proceeding so smoothly. There are quite a few difficulties, as well as differences. There is, however, one encouraging, reassuring and indisputable fact: there are no people in the world who do not want an early conclusion of peace, as well as a new, democratic and lasting peace in the world. There is no army ready to fight again, to march to the battlefields. And among the millions of women in the world there are hardly a score or so, who would stand for war. Bulgaria is fully entitled to an honourable and just peace. The best guarantee of it is the fact that we are backed and protected by such a great power as the mighty Soviet Union and that ever more influential democratic circles in the world properly appraise new, democratic Bulgaria as a stable element of peace and democracy.

The Czechoslovak, Polish and certain other delegations at the Paris Peace Conference are backing us, recognizing our people's contribution to the final downfall of nazism, and are ready to defend our national cause sincerely and honestly.

The Paris Peace Conference will make it clear that Bulgaria is indeed a *new, democratic country*, having resolutely broken with the fascist past. She is a country possessing her invincible and unshakeable Fatherland Front. She is a country in which, as you know, there is great labour enthusiasm instead of strikes, so frequent in many Western countries. She is a country in which there is no economic crisis but where the people are heroically overcoming economic ruin and creating conditions for economic progress. She is a country without unemployment, where workers are in demand. She is a country in

which there is no civil war such as, for instance, is raging in our southern neighbour and in other states.

The Fatherland Front has resolutely gone over to the offensive against all remnants of fascism and reaction, which hamper the establishment of complete order and tranquillity. There are in Bulgaria panic-stricken and faint-hearted people who lack faith and who are terribly upset when they see how the Fatherland Front purges its own ranks and those of the army from harmful elements and turns the latter into a real people's army, how the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is being cleansed of old fascist and pro-fascist civil servants and diplomats who work against the new, democratic Bulgaria. Our higher institutions of learning and their professorial staff, the Academy of Sciences and other educational establishments still harbour enemies of new Bulgaria; the Ministry of Trade and Supply and other state institutions give shelter to various saboteurs and wreckers, who hinder the proper organization of food supply and distribution to our people, with the aim of discrediting the new, the people's power. Here too, a serious purge is impending. Such panic-stricken, distrustful and faint-hearted people tremble at this purge, so necessary for the people and the country. Panic-stricken they whisper: there is a crisis in the Fatherland Front, the Fatherland Front is doomed – the Communists and the Zveno members are at loggerheads, the Communists have fallen out with the Agrarians, and similar tripe. Every sober-minded person understands that there is no crisis at all, but that it is a matter of a quite natural salutary process, of ozonizing the atmosphere in Bulgaria, of cleansing, so to say, the Augean stables of the old, fascist and reactionary filth. It is a matter of destroying miasmas and microbes, which disintegrate and sap the vital forces of our people, of the new Bulgarian state. The Fatherland Front will emerge from this salutary process tens of times stronger.

Fortified and renovated, the Fatherland Front will now, with all its forces and five parties, start a campaign for a people's republic, to be followed by a nation-wide campaign for electing a Grand National Assembly and adopting a new constitution – the Constitution of the

People's Republic. No sensible person in Bulgaria, no member of the Fatherland Front, no patriotic Bulgarian woman, no elector, man or woman, will oppose the salutary Fatherland Front, i.e. will burn the house to get rid of the mouse just because they have certain grievances and justly so, in connection with various irregularities and abuses in the sphere of food supply. On the contrary, they will help the Fatherland Front to get rid of the irregularities and abuses and the cases of arbitrary actions and violations of the Fatherland Front legality. After the purge and the self-purge, the relations among Communists, Agrarians, Zveno members, Social-Democrats and Radicals will undoubtedly be fortified and consolidated and, with common efforts, the Fatherland Front will launch the forthcoming campaigns against reaction like a well-knit company, like an iron phalanx.

I am confident that the collective mind of your Plenary Session of Communists, Agrarians, Zveno members, Social-Democrats and Radicals will take all proper decisions to secure the most active and conscious participation of the Bulgarian women from town and village in these two campaigns. We must elect the best, the most devoted and worthiest sons and daughters of our people, no matter what party they belong to, to the Grand National Assembly. We, Communists, will have the noble ambition to propose some of the best. Let the people – men, women, and youths throughout the country – freely express their will with their ballot on October 27 and elect deputies, capable of working out a popular democratic and progressive Constitution.

The participation of women in the forthcoming campaigns is very important. Women are a great force. It should be stressed quite clearly *that there cannot be real democracy, real progress and national prosperity without the active and conscious participation of women in the administration of the country, in its public, political, economic and cultural life* – a fact which some of our statesmen and public figures do not grasp sufficiently. The Women's Union, its members and all other Bulgarian patriotic women, must become tireless, day-today propagandists in the forthcoming

plebiscite campaign and in the elections for the Grand National Assembly, propagandists for a genuine People's Republic, for a truly democratic Constitution, for the salutary cause of the Fatherland Front.

As is known, women are born propagandists and orators. Even the frailest of them can be, to the best of their forces and possibilities, propagandists in the family, among neighbours and relatives, in enterprises and offices. All women can explain the real situation of our new state, the truth about the Fatherland Front, the truth about the People's Republic and People's Constitution, the truth about the fight against the people's enemies, for peace and prosperity. Each and every one of you, in towns and villages, must have the ambition to refute the slanders, intrigues and lies, spread by various circles and organized people's enemies. Let no woman or young girl of honest character be deluded not to take part in the plebiscite or in the elections for the Grand National Assembly. Refute everywhere the fallacies, intrigues and slanders of the people's enemies and deceivers. This can be done by every woman, even by the simplest peasant woman. Give them election materials in time, teach them how to explain, agitate and refute the delusions, lies and intrigues, how to defend the people's power. Thus our people will have at their disposal hundreds of thousands of women-propagandists with maternal, sisterly and patriotic love, and our people's cause will triumph the more certainly.

The Bulgarian National Women's Union is called upon to play a great role in the political, economic and cultural life of our country, particularly so in the forthcoming months.

The Women's Union has achievements which delight every patriotic heart and for which I, too, congratulate it sincerely. But there are, as you yourselves recognize weaknesses and shortcomings which, at least the worst of them, should be eliminated as soon as possible. I do not want to give mentorial advice. You know better than I do the mentality of woman and the conditions of her life in the family and outside of it. But I think that *the first thing* which should be done is to work most tenaciously for the

unity of the Bulgarian National Women's Union and not to allow any split. Keep the unity of the Women's Union as the apple of your eye, for there are enemies who want to undermine it. There are circles out to create separate women's organizations, directed against the National Women's Union. Do not allow any divisive attempts. All in unison – Communists, Zveno members, Agrarians, Social-Democrats – castigate those who would dare do this.

Secondly, it is absolutely necessary for the National Women's Union to direct its forces and undivided attention to attracting *the peasant-women* to the associations, auxiliary organizations and sections. As you know, our country is basically a rural one. There cannot be a serious, strong and efficient Women's Union without our peasant-women as active members. Bulgaria is noted for its low illiteracy, but to our shame there is still a considerable number of illiterate peasant women and girls. The National Women's Union, the Ministry of Education and the other educational establishments and organizations should take it upon themselves to eliminate illiteracy among women as soon as possible. Illiteracy is an evil enemy of all freedom and progress.

Thirdly, you must increase the number of workers in the Women's Union. Why don't the women-workers, who are organized in their trade unions, become en masse members of the National Women's Union? Apart from everything else, this will be most important because, by being together, women-workers, peasant-women, and women-intellectuals will be able to draw closer to each other and to form a democratic entity of ideas, culture, character and even mentality.

In the fourth place, more heed should be paid to housewives who do not work in factories or offices but whose condition is worse than that of all other women. These thousands of housewives are overburdened with children and household cares. Our country's future needs healthy and sturdy children. It is therefore necessary to alleviate the work of the mother-housewife and her chores, to show her the sunlight of progress and to make it penetrate into her soul.

The women-teachers at primary preparatory and secondary schools, at higher institutions of learning, as well as at various children's establishments, are of great importance to the National Women's Union. Women teachers are the enlighteners of the people. A teacher – that is an honorary title. But there are many women-teachers who unfortunately do not live up to their calling. They do not help either the National Women's Union or the Fatherland Front committees. They take no part in child-care and in other cultural undertakings. Some of them, striving to emulate the upper class ladies, think only of their own comfort and pleasures. The National Women's Union must influence these women-teachers and harness them into socially useful activity as popular apostles of enlightenment. If an ordinary peasant-woman, woman-worker or housewife is not sufficiently qualified for cultural activity, a woman-teacher certainly is. She has education, pedagogical experience and corresponding conditions. As a teacher she is duty-bound to take part in cultural enterprises. It is a shame for a woman-teacher under present conditions to keep aloof from the National Women's Union and the Fatherland Front.

All this, of course, is not altogether new to you. Tenacious organizational and other work is necessary so that the National Women's Union might embrace in its ranks all women of physical and intellectual labour, so that it might carry out successfully its great tasks, winning numerous new adherents and active members, so badly needed at the present moment.

I would like to say a few words on a rather delicate question, a question I touched upon by the way in the past in a congratulation of mine, addressed to your Union, and which was not to the liking of some men. If the Bulgarian woman is to take a more active part in the political, economic and cultural life of our country, *the conservatism* which still prevails in relations between man and woman will have to be overcome. The majority of men including quite a few in the Fatherland Front have a mediaeval, unsound attitude towards women. There are many men who in this respect only lack the Turkish turban; they have

higher education, have studied abroad, pretend to have imbibed European culture, but in their attitude to woman they are not superior to a hardened Oriental. An end should be put to this as soon as possible.

He who treats woman as an object for home use is not a worthy and cultured man. He who treats woman in an Oriental spirit and is on the same level with those Turks who had harems, is not a man of culture. It is necessary to insist constantly and everywhere – in the press, at meetings and particularly in personal relations – on a change in this attitude. A healthy, cultured attitude is necessary towards woman, as a human being, a comrade, a mother of our children – the greatest capital of the nation. I repeat: *human being, comrade, mother*. That is the attitude, the mutual respect and the relations between man and woman which should prevail in Fatherland Front Bulgaria. The struggle against the shameful legacy of the past should be waged boldly and resolutely. This struggle shall be waged with the common efforts of all leading social and political workers, of all parties and public organizations of the Fatherland Front and, *above all, by you yourselves*. Mediaeval conservatism in relations between man and woman a shame for our people, should be rooted out by all possible means.

I wish you, dear comrades, as a women's union, as patriotic Bulgarian women, to take part, with still more energy and enthusiasm, with still greater maternal and sisterly love, with a burning heart and a vigilant mind, in the forthcoming campaigns for the People's Republic and Grand National Assembly, so that we may be able to congratulate ourselves on September 8 with a great triumph – the proclamation of the People's Republic, to congratulate ourselves upon a genuine Fatherland Front Grand National Assembly and upon a truly popular democratic Constitution, which will clear the way for the further progressive development of our country, together with our Yugoslav brothers, under the auspices and fraternal aid of our senior Slav brother – the great Russian people.

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THE BULGARIAN WORKERS' PARTY
(COMMUNISTS) SHOULD LEAD THE STRUGGLE
FOR A PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AND A GRAND
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

*Speech at the 10th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of
the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists)*

August 9, 1946

Comrades!

This Plenary Session has been called to take certain pressing decisions in a grave and complicated international and domestic setting.

The central problem, related to the international situation, as you all know and feel, is the struggle for establishing the new postwar peace. It will soon be a year and a half since the end of the Second World War, but there is still no peace, the necessary peace treaties have not been concluded. Neither in the world as a whole, in Europe, nor in the Balkans in particular, has a normal state of affairs, normal international co-operation been established. The nations are longing for peace. The world needs the soonest possible conclusion of a just and lasting peace, but there is no peace yet. A number of meetings and conferences of foreign ministers of the Great Powers have been held, the Peace Conference of 21 countries is now in progress in Paris, but the difficulties in establishing the new peace have by no means been overcome. *Quite naturally, the question arises, what impedes the establishment of this peace, and who stands in the way of a speedy liquidation of the consequences of the Second World War and of opening perspectives for peaceful, friendly and lasting co-operation among all nations?*

If we wish to understand properly, to learn precisely what stands in the way and who stands in the way, we should certainly take into consideration the main results,

the far-reaching results of the Second World War, which affect the present international situation and which are connected with the difficulties in establishing the world peace.

What are these main results, these far-reaching results?

The first result no doubt, is the fact that the international role and international prestige of the Soviet Union have greatly increased. As you know, they have increased because of the leading role which the Soviet Union played in defeating fascism in the world.

The international role and international prestige of the USSR have also gone up, because a number of nations have been delivered of nazi, of fascist oppression thanks to the Red Army. The international role has also gone up and the international prestige of the USSR has been accentuated because of the fact that in its consistent struggle to defend the peace and democratic transformations in the world after the war, it has actually *taken the lead of world democracy*, the lead of all freedom-loving nations, which do not wish to live in the old way, in the way they lived before the war, but try to march forward and become the masters of their fate and future.

The second result of the World War consists in the great and profound democratic changes which have taken place in the world and in those countries in particular, which have been liberated from nazi oppression with the help and assistance, with the blood and sacrifices of the Red Army. In these countries the nations are striving to rid themselves of monopolistic, profiteering big capital, of the domination of the predatory, parasitic bourgeois-capitalist clique. These nations are striving to establish in their countries actual people's democracy, which will help them cope with their big post-war difficulties and will guarantee their further development along the line of progress and national well-being. In these aspirations the nations find greatest support in the Soviet Union – support, which is sincere and amicable.

The third big and important result is the fact that during the war for liberation from nazi Germany, the Slav nations drew close together in the general struggle, in the common

bloodshed for their freedom, independence and happiness. They did so with the help and under the leadership of their eldest Slav brother, the great Russian people. Slav unity was established and is continually gaining strength against all enemies of the Slav nations, against any possible new onslaught – the unity of the Slav nations, which continues to be an international factor of paramount importance, which in the near future will play a vast role in setting all international issues under the leadership of the USSR.

As you see, Comrades, these three major historical results of the Second World War are a strong blow against imperialist reaction in the world and can undermine the fundamental positions of imperialism, especially in Southeastern Europe.

This is the source of that feeling of alarm and anxiety among the reactionary imperialist circles in the big Western states. Hence their striving to make use of every means and effort, at this moment when the new peace is being established, in every way to check the consolidation and further development of these three major results when all is being done to make peace.

This also explains the desire of certain present leaders of the United States and Great Britain to dictate alone the conditions of the future peace at the Paris Peace Conference. The big disputes with respect to the procedure of the Conference, which have been in progress in the past ten days, since the Paris Peace Conference began its session, are also due to the same reason. The disputes pertain not to questions of procedure, not to ordinary technical matters, which could be settled in twenty-four hours. They actually pertain to major political issues. It is not in vain that the Anglo-Saxon representatives want the questions discussed at the Peace Conference settled by a simple majority, and not by two thirds of the votes, certainly not on the basis of mutual agreement, nor on the basis of equal rights among the great countries. They want these questions settled by a majority of one or two votes in their favour, to the detriment of the Soviet Union and the new democratic countries. In his fine speech at the Conference yesterday comrade Molotov fully exposed this anti-democratic posi-

tion, this 'play of votes' as he called it, which sets new obstacles to the establishment of a sound and lasting peace.

Against the thesis of the USSR that there can be no just and lasting peace in the world without mutual agreement, without mutual understanding, without mutual concessions to the benefit of the common cause of peace, the imperialists pose the thesis of establishing peace through dictates, as was done at the end of the First World War.

But they have forgotten the fact that there is a profound difference between the situation after the First World War and that which we have now, after the Second World War. If the nations shed so much blood in the course of four years fighting against the designs of German imperialism to impose its domination on the world, they did not do it to have another imperialist country prevail in the world today. What is more, every reasonable man understands that *the powerful Soviet Union is not a country which will submit to any imperialist dictate.*

Russia did not take part in making the peace after the First World War. The young Soviet Republic was not then in a position to exert any influence on the conditions of the peace. In those days the representatives of the imperialist countries discussed the peace terms alone in their chancelleries and secret conference rooms.

Today the Soviet Union appears at the Paris Conference powerful and invincible. It appears as the leading force of many nations in Europe and of world democracy in general. Today the conditions of the peace treaties with the former enemies of the Allied Powers are not discussed in secret chancelleries and conference rooms. The conditions of the future world peace are not discussed in secret offices and meeting rooms, but in public, before public opinion of the whole world. Today Mr. Byrnes, for example, does not speak with comrade Molotov and other state leaders in some office alone. He also speaks before the representatives of 21 countries, participating at this Conference, and, in their person, to the millions inhabiting the earth. *Today world democracy can influence the decisions to be taken with regard to future peace.*

This fact is of paramount importance.

And so the reactionaries are following a wrong track by believing that they can force the Soviet Union and the democratic nations to accept an imperialist peace, by believing that the Soviet Union, which made the greatest material and human sacrifices in the Liberation War, which shed most blood and endured the grimmest sufferings and privations, is exhausted to such a degree that it will readily accept the dictates of any imperialists whatever.

This should be borne in mind, especially by us in Bulgaria, where we still have short-sighted politicians, narrow-minded public workers and naïve people, who believe and pay attention to the writings of all those journalists who sing praise to the great power of Britain and America, deliberately belittle the power of the Soviet Union, and predict an Anglo-Soviet War in the near future.

Comrades! We do not need to exaggerate and embellish things. We know all the difficulties which face the Soviet Union and all the democratic nations in establishing the new peace. We know what dangers threaten the world at this moment, when there still are politicians like Churchill, leading a whole stream of instigators of new wars. But we should know the actual situation and the actual forces at the disposal of the camp of peace and democracy under the leadership of the Soviet Union, as well as its superiority over the warmongers.

In what does this superiority consist, briefly speaking?

In the first place, it consists in the fact that economically, politically and socially the Soviet Union has been built upon the foundations of a socialist system, that it represents a socialist state, which has placed all underground and surface resources, all creative powers, energies and abilities of the peoples of this vast country in the service of people and state, under the guidance of a unified will.

In the second place, the superiority of the Soviet Union consists in the fact that thanks to this socialist system of state government, economic organization of labour, and so on, the Soviet Union has united all its nationalities politically and morally. There is no class struggle there because there are no classes and antagonistic interests. There are no

strikes, but rather general enthusiasm for work and socialist emulation. There are no numerous parties fighting against each other, no trusts and combines to impose their will on the country's economy and its domestic and foreign policy. There is only one party, the glorious *Bolshevik Party, which governs* the Soviet Union. How could the Soviet Union repulse the terrific assault of the German military machine during the war – at the end of 1941 and the first half of 1942 – if it did not have a socialist system and unified leadership, if through the October Revolution it had not removed all the obstacles which private capital could have placed in its way?

Take as an example what happened in the Ukraine in 1941. Could it have been possible, under another system, to fulfil so precisely the slogan – 'Destroy everything, leave nothing in the enemy's hands!' – when the enemy was advancing? Could the huge power station of the Dnieper have been blown up in the air, to prevent its being used by the Nazi hordes, if it had belonged to capitalist companies, Russian or foreign? Or could there be another government, besides the Soviet, which as you know, transported the heavy industry of the Ukraine thousands of kilometres east to the Urals, in the bleakest winter at that, and managed to set this industry quickly in motion again for the purposes of the War of Liberation? Which capitalist country could do this? If America or Britain, for instance, had been in the same condition, the various combines, trusts and magnates, and even the members of the government themselves would have said: let the power station stay where it is, keep all its equipment in place. The enemy will use them, without doubt, but we shall find a way of coming to terms with it after the war. Private capitalist interests would have prevailed over the nation's interests and over defence against the enemy.

The immense potentialities and resources of manpower, labour enthusiasm and heroism constitute *another advantage* of the Soviet Union. You know about the new Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union. Reports are already coming from numerous places that this plan will be fulfilled in three years.

But the Soviet Union has a military advantage as well.

Military experts, who know well the state of affairs, unanimously affirm that in spite of the great bloodshed and millions of casualties, the Red Army is today stronger, mightier, with a much greater fighting capacity than at the beginning of the Liberation War.

The Soviet Union has another advantage as well. It consists in the fact that while the Western Powers have colonies which are constantly fighting against the metropolis, the Soviet Union has no colonies, but it has vast areas in which, as you know, new peoples with great gifts and creative energies have emerged thanks to the Soviet socialist system.

The Soviet Union is a well-knit state of many nationalities under the leadership of the great Russian people.

In Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan and many other areas no question arises about the people's rights and liberties. They have them. No question arises about colonial oppression, about fighting against the metropolis, against Moscow. No such thing exists. There is unity in those areas. And what is the situation in the West? The colonial peoples are not satisfied. They want to exist independently. As you know from the news bulletings, although they are scanty, a powerful movement for national freedom and independence is developing in India, a war is in progress in Indonesia, and the struggle for independence has been gaining momentum in all colonies since the war.

Another no less important advantage of the Soviet Union is the fact that it is surrounded by numerous nations which are sincerely and deeply devoted to it, which are grateful for the assistance it gave them to liberate themselves and for the aid which it gives them at present for their economic and political rehabilitation. These nations look to Moscow for support. They consider it as being something like the sun of their land, without which nothing can grow, develop and blossom. Naturally, nothing of this kind could be said about the Western Powers, which really have 'friendly' countries by force of circumstances,

but are ready to leave them and follow their own course at the very first opportunity.

These advantages of the Soviet Union, as well as others, which the imperialists and warmongers lack, advantages which will grow stronger in the future, show plainly and clearly that the nations which are following the Soviet Union, and our nation in particular, need not be sceptical about their future. They will never have a chance to regret it. They can only gain by their sincere friendship and common struggle with the Soviet Union for establishing international peace.

There are strongly incensed American journalists who boast about the atomic bomb. They already speak of an 'atomic policy', and 'atomic diplomacy'. These words have already become common terms. What they mean to say is: the Soviet Union, as a powerful socialist country, certainly has many advantages, but we have one thing which it does not have – the atomic bomb, the most devastating weapon. We can answer them though, without fear: as to the atomic bomb – leave it to God. This Great invention cannot and will not remain an American monopoly forever.

Comrades!

In the international situation today and with these two tendencies – of the Soviet Union and the new democracies for establishing a lasting and just peace based on equal rights and co-operation among the great countries, co-operation between equals, and the other tendency towards the domination of one or another Great Power, the tendency of enforcing imperialist peace conditions, and imposing the most unfavourable living conditions upon countries which have taken the path of a new democracy, which are radically annihilating fascism, which are organizing their democratic system and which are wrenching themselves from the claws of the imperialist vultures – these are the two tendencies apparent during the talks at the Paris Peace Conference which is taking place now. Bulgaria is in favour of the first tendency.

The Bulgarian people have found their proper place.

We will not shut our eyes to the difficulties and unpleasantness which our delegation will meet at the Paris

Peace Conference. There will certainly be quite a few influential persons who will speak against new Bulgaria of the Fatherland Front and will try to arouse ill-feeling against our people.

Nevertheless, whatever happens, whatever may be said at the Paris Peace Conference, whatever difficulties and troubles may be engendered for our country, there can be no doubt, Comrades, that in the final account a democratic and lasting peace will be imposed for all nations, including the Bulgarian people, because the nations and armies demand peace and not a new war.

We Bulgarians, in particular, are in a much more favourable position at the present Paris Peace Conference than we were at the peace conference after the First World War. At that time Bulgaria appeared in Paris on her knees, disabled and not supported by anyone. Nobody cared to listen to her. We all know that at the Paris Peace Conference after the First World War, Stamboliiski and other Bulgarian delegates knocked on the doors for weeks before they were received and heard by some of the diplomats. Finally, a humiliating and burdensome peace treaty was imposed on Bulgaria. Our situation at present is entirely different.

It is different, *first*, because of the fact that during the World War itself the Bulgarian people managed to put up such resistance, such a heroic fight against fascism and the German invaders, which has done them great credit both morally and politically before world public opinion and the Paris Peace Conference.

Second, because of the fact that after ridding themselves of fascist dictatorship with the help of the Red Army, repudiating the official nazi course in their foreign policy and taking the side of the Allied Powers, the Bulgarian people immediately threw their armed forces against nazi Germany on their own initiative, without any foreign directive, and distinguished themselves by the miraculous feats of heroism of their soldiers and officers driving the German hordes out of Greece, Macedonia and Serbia.

Third, because of the fact that thanks to the Fatherland Front, as their leader, our people put an end to the past, to

the aggressive fascist policy of the pan-Bulgarian chauvinists and turned Bulgaria into a democratic country, into a sound element and a stable factor of peace and democracy in the Balkans. New Bulgaria actually earned the right of being treated as a co-belligerent country on the side of the Allied Powers.

Furthermore, at this Paris Peace Conference we are far from being alone, far from being isolated as we were after the First World War. This time we have the valuable protection of the Soviet Union and its delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. We can also rely on the support of the Czechoslovak and Polish delegations, as well as on others, which, if not on all points of the peace treaty, will support us on a number of points of importance to us, in the interest of general world peace.

The prospects of concluding a peace treaty with Bulgaria are not dark at all. There is no serious reason for anxiety. *There are only certain difficulties, which have to be overcome.* There is a hostile campaign which has to be faced staunchly by us and our friends. There is slander and intrigue which have to be shattered; there are prejudices and biases, disseminated deliberately, as you know, in an organized way by the malicious opposition and its foreign protectors. There are prejudices and biases, which have to be done away with to enable not only the participants in the Paris Peace Conference, but all real democrats and progressive-minded people outside the walls of this conference, in every corner of the world, to understand our just national cause and raise their voices in its defence.

Comrades!

Our country's international situation is, naturally, linked with our domestic state of affairs.

Without dwelling on this subject in detail, I should stress that our domestic situation is developing primarily under the sign of the resolute assault against the remnants of fascism and reaction, launched by the Fatherland Front and our Party. The referendum campaign is also to be carried out under this slogan, and so are the elections for the Grand National Assembly.

Were we justified to launch such a resolute political assault?

I don't believe that there are comrades in the ranks of our Party who doubt the need of such an assault. It can even be said that we have launched it a little too late. Too much time was wasted waiting to reach agreement between the Fatherland Front Parties and its National Committee in order to settle certain important issues without trouble. Finally we were all convinced that no positive results could be reached in this way, for it would not be possible to remove the obstacles which stood in the way of implementing the Fatherland Front programme in the economic field, in the matter of supplies for the population, in provisioning and taking certain important measures to improve the country's economy. It was also necessary to take steps against profiteers and black market operators, against wreckers and trouble-makers in the army, the state apparatus and in the Fatherland Front itself. It was necessary to act resolutely and fearlessly.

You will hear a short report by comrade Georgi Damyanov on the purge in the army and its results, and on the prospects opened by the purge. You will also have a chance to learn about the purge made at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at the Ministry of Education and the higher educational institutions.

Such purge should be made in all public, state, co-operative and other organizations and offices from top to bottom. It is necessary to remove everything which impedes our democratic development and economic rehabilitation, in order to establish law, order and public security once and for all in our country.

In the ranks of our allies, especially in the Zveno, this assault caused some alarm. This happened in certain other circles as well. Some said that this meant the dissolution of the Fatherland Front, a government crisis, and the abandonment of the Fatherland Front and the Government by some parties, which would be of great harm at this moment on the eve of the Paris Peace Conference.

There are panic-stricken, faint-hearted and short-sighted politicians in our country. Even in our Party some

comrades were worried. Others, however, as I shall now explain, went to the other extreme and did more harm than good in this drive against reaction.

Is it true that the assault against the reaction in our country, which is also an assault against the opposition, because the latter serves the reaction, can cause a crisis in the Fatherland Front or even lead to its disintegration? By no means! There is no greater fallacy than this assertion. Anyone who is well aware of the state of affairs in our country and knows the motive forces of the Fatherland Front and our present political development, regards this assault of the people against their enemies and restorationist circles as a process of convalescence, which will not weaken the Fatherland Front, but will certainly strengthen it is a union of all anti-fascist, democratic and progressive circles. If we regard the Fatherland Front as an ordinary, temporary coalition of parties, as was the practice in the past, we would be justified to show certain concern, but the Fatherland Front, as you know, is and should be not merely a bloc of five anti-fascist governing parties, but is and should be a democratic and anti-fascist union of the people's forces, the democratic and progressive-minded sections of the people. And insofar as it is such a union – and it will become even more so in future – there can be no room for anxiety whatever about unrest in the Fatherland Front, still less about disintegration.

What person, possessing common sense, can now leave the Fatherland Front voluntarily, or what political group can venture to do so? Can the Zveno group venture, or the Social-Democrats, or the Radicals, not to speak of the Agrarians? Which of them could decide to abandon the Fatherland Front, knowing that if they do so, the Fatherland Front will go on existing. It will not only go on existing, but will become still more closely united, because if part of the present Zveno group quits, for example, there will certainly remain in the Fatherland Front another Zveno, which will be strong, and possibly even stronger than the present one. After all, the Fatherland Front exists with five parties in it, but it can also exist with four, and will certainly do so! They can even be three, just the same!

It all depends on the will of the people! If the people wish, this can happen. We, naturally, stand for five. We stand for unity in the Fatherland Front, but not for unity at all costs – we stand for unity in order to make of the Fatherland Front programme a living reality.

We do not stand for the Fatherland Front as a general entity. We would be opposed to a Fatherland Front which would serve as a screen of reaction, as a mechanism for robbing the people. We stand for the Fatherland Front because it is an undertaking of the whole nation, because it is of use to the people, because it will save our people and country. And in order to fulfil this task, it should be purged from pseudo-Fatherland Front elements, from wreckers and evil-doers, from evil-doers within its own parties and to the Fatherland Front state itself.

If this political assault is carried out properly and brought to a successful end, it will consolidate the unity of the Fatherland Front, will strengthen its deep roots among the people and will enable the Fatherland Front to take part in the campaign for a people's republic and for a Grand National Assembly as a well-knit and coherent organization, as an iron phalanx against reaction, so as to deal a crushing blow on Bulgaria's enemies and secure their utter defeat.

In connection with this it should be noted that certain comrades in our own ranks, who were influenced by the enemies' provocations, failed to understand the proper meaning of this assault. Some of them thought: the Party has launched an attack against reaction and we are going to have something like a second September 9. You know what happened in the first days after September 9, how rightly the people's disgust against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship boiled over, and how the only lawful thing at the moment was what the people rising in arm, did in their localities.

To speak of a second September 9 today is not only a blunder, it shows a very harmful conception of the political assault against the remnants of fascism and reaction. This assault shall not lead to any repetition of September 9, because it is historically impossible, to repeat September 9.

The present conditions are perfectly different. Today we have sufficient legal means of defending the people's rule.

What we need now is political enlightenment, political agitation and propaganda, which will reach the last inhabitant of our country – propaganda about the cause of the Fatherland Front and its programme. It is necessary to fight against reaction, against the malicious oppositionists, against corruption and improper actions, against wreckers in the state apparatus, against wreckers in the ranks of the Fatherland Front itself.

What would you say, for instance, to the following thing: at the moment when a check-up of the army has been assigned to a special committee by decision of Parliament and the committee has established that some 2,000 officers have to be dismissed to improve the army's fighting capacity as a genuine force of the people; when the Government and our Party in particular – because we bear the greatest responsibility for all these measures in our country – have to see to it that these 2,000 discharged officers shall not become two regiments of reactionaries, of trained military enemies of the Fatherland Front and the people, when the Government and our Party are thinking how to cope with the embitterment of the discharged officers, how to influence some of these people, because many of them have run into error and have been unconsciously plunged into anti-national and anti-democratic activity; when all this has to be carried out by the Party in an organized way, certain Party secretaries and leaders are doing just the opposite in their localities?

This is what happened: The chief of the military section in Pleven – I don't know if he is here, for if he is not, he should have been asked to come – came over to Sofia to get information and instructions from the Central Committee. Then he returned to Pleven, gathered the District Party Committee and reported to them that he had been instructed by the Central Committee, by the Politbureau to have all discharged officers immediately arrested and kept under strict surveillance. Such instruction certainly *does not exist and cannot exist*. There is not and there cannot be such a Politbureau of our Party which would permit such crazy

and foolish behaviour, so harmful for the Party and the cause of the Fatherland Front. This man is a Party functionary who does not realize his real duties, who thinks that his duty is to fabricate new political enemies of the Workers' Party and the Fatherland Front.

Or take another example. The president of the Fatherland Front Committee in Cherven Bryag arrested and beat a man – beat him to death. This president may be an agent provocateur, because there are agents doing such things in the name of our Party and they should be found and chased away. But if an agent provocateur, he is evidently a man who is entirely wrong in his understanding of the political assault against reaction.

Here is a third instance, still more impressive: one of our deputies, a valorous partisan who is loved by all who know him and who has contributed much to the partisan movement and to the Patriotic War, turned up together with other members of the district committee at the Stara Zagora prison where several officers of the reserve were detained, suspected of having been taking part in a conspiracy. So they began to beat these officers, because they had oppressed them before September 9. If the officers were suspects, there is a law under which they will be tried. You know that trials of conspirators are even now in progress. Instead of keeping the prestige of the Party as the apple of their eye, these Party comrades followed their personal sentiments and applied the most blameworthy and indecent methods as communists. There are other such instances.

Some of our people, you see follow the line of the least resistance and instead of carefully explaining, and propagating, instead of waging a political fight, which naturally requires a greater strain on their brains resort to manhandling and unlawful actions.

Such behaviour is against the Party's interests, against the laws of the Fatherland Front. It should be stopped immediately and its authors should be severely punished, so that not a single act of this kind shall occur in the future, not a single instance of illegal behaviour which will discredit our Party and the people's rule. None of these

transgressors should be left unpunished. It is necessary to impose sanctions of the severest kind, including expulsion from the Party ranks and legal prosecution.

I believe that those who transgress the Party morality, the Party discipline and the Fatherland Front laws, those who disregard the decisions of the Central Committee, deserve severest punishment irrespective of their social standing, Party duties and former merits.

The Party's interests stand above everything else; for us they are the interests of the people, the interests of our country. Everyone who takes liberties with the slightest deed of this kind does harm to the Party and should receive the punishment he deserves. And he should not only receive his punishment, but his transgression should be made known to the whole town or the whole village. This sanction should be published in our press, so that all people may know it – our friends and our enemies – that it may serve as a lesson to everyone.

I am anxious to have all our comrades realize that after this plenary session a change should be noticed in this respect all over the country without stopping the political assault against reaction, of course, without reducing a jot of the people's vigilance against wreckers, evil-doers, conspirators and enemies of new, democratic Bulgaria. On the contrary, the assault should be intensified everywhere, but it should be carried out as an organized political action. It should be carried out by explanation and argument, by the methods of ideological and political struggle, and by all means on the basis and within the framework of Fatherland Front legality. As to our relations with the allies, we should understand and strictly observe the view that in the ranks of the Fatherland Front we are not waging an attack against the Zveno and the other parties as a whole, but concretely and convincingly exposing only those of their members who are against the Fatherland Front.

Comrades, in conclusion, I would like to express the wish that you will consider seriously all the questions related to the forthcoming campaigns and use the collective Party mind to make such decisions as would enable

our Party to be the foremost and guiding force, in order that hand-in-hand with our allies we may secure the election of a genuine Fatherland Front National Assembly.*

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 183
August 15, 1946

G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 12, pp. 264-285
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* The shorthand report of the speech has been slightly abridged.

BULGARIA WILL BE A PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Wireless Address to the Bulgarian People

September 7, 1946

Citizens!

Brothers and Sisters!

The referendum campaign has come to an end. Tomorrow, Bulgarian men and women will go to the polls to cast their vote. They will show their real will with regard to a question of cardinal significance to our country — the question of the form and character of our state system.

Some people have asked, why it was necessary to launch such an extensive campaign and to have a public inquiry, when it is clear and beyond any doubt that the great majority of our people are opposed to the monarchy and support the republican idea.

Yes, it is true that the idea of a republic lies deep in the hearts of all patriotic Bulgarian men and women in our country. It is also an indisputable fact that the issue for abolishing the monarchy and proclaiming Bulgaria as a people's republic is ripe. The question, however, does not only pertain to the idea of a republic. It pertains to the actual implementation of this idea. The point is to prepare the ground for this implementation among the masses, because the foundation of a people's republic will not be possible without the conscious and active participation of the masses themselves.

The referendum campaign has enabled our people to make a critical review of the path covered during the five past decades, to realize the crimes of the monarchial regime and its supporters, and to draw invaluable lessons from their bitter experience of the past.

Precisely this campaign has given our people the oppor-

tunity of being perfectly clear, why it is that Bulgaria, instead of taking part in the peace conference on an equal footing with the victorious United Nations in setting the peace after the war, is being forced, as Germany's former satellite, to struggle bitterly for its right of existence and in defence of its legitimate fundamental interests and demands. Now they see better than ever before that this is due to the treacherous, anti-national policy pursued by monarchism and the promonarchist and predatory part of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie.

The campaign has also revealed to the people the base hypocrisy of reaction in our country, which reaction, having no courage to defend openly the cause of monarchism, is trying to discredit the referendum by all kinds of slander and intrigue. Meanwhile, inveterate courtiers have quickly donned the republican mantle.

But the particular importance of the campaign lies in the fact that it has grown into a great political school for the broad masses, especially for the hundreds of thousands of women and young people. This, naturally, will also pave the way for the elections of the Grand National Assembly, which is to work out our country's Constitution.

As to the vote itself, in the first place it will enable the people to see how many supporters of the accursed and criminal monarchy are still to be found among them, which will certainly be of great use.

If it is necessary, however, to repeat what kind of a republic our democratic people are going to vote for, I would briefly put it like this, categorically and clearly:

Our people stand for a *people's republic* with a parliamentary regime and not for a plutocratic republic. They stand for a *people's republican government*, and not for a *bourgeois republican one*.

What does this mean? It means that:

First, Bulgaria is not going to be a Soviet Republic, but a people's republic in which the great majority of the people – workers, peasants, craftsmen and people's intelligentsia – are going to play a leading role. The majority of the working people, those who are doing socially useful work, will be the decisive factor in the People's Republic of

Bulgaria, and not the big profiteering capital and the minority of politically and morally degraded and bankrupt super-strata of the bourgeoisie.

Second, Bulgaria is going to be a people's republic, in which private property, earned with labour and thrift, will be given actual support by the state against plunderers and profiteers, but in which the private property of the big capitalists and profiteers will not be allowed to doom the working people – workers, peasants, craftsmen, employees and the people's intelligentsia – to starvation and poverty.

Third, Bulgaria is going to be a people's republic, which will leave no open door for return to the disgraceful past of monarchism, fascism and pan-Bulgarian chauvinism, and which will guarantee all the necessary constitutional, political, economic, material and cultural conditions for our country's upward development and for our nation's steady progress, until every trace of exploitation of man by man is done away with.

Fourth, Bulgaria, is going to be a people's republic, a free and independent state, with national and state sovereignty. It will not play to the tune of the various capitalist trusts and combines, which are trying to enslave the small nations politically and economically.

Fifth, Bulgaria is going to be a people's republic, a bastion of Slavonic unity and fraternity against any possible aggression. It is not going to be an oil-can greasing the chariot of anti-Slavonic and anti-Soviet policy, leading to antagonisms among nations.

Sixth, Bulgaria is going to be a people's republic, which, side by side with the other democratic and freedom-loving peoples, will be a sound element of peace and democracy in the Balkans and Europe, and not a weapon for military adventures and aggressive wars.

This is, in brief, our concept of the character of the people's republic, which will be voted tomorrow.

Is there any room for doubt that the majority of our people will vote for such a people's republic?

No, there is no room for doubt whatever.

Everyone can understand easily that it is of great domestic and international significance to our country to

have the maximum percentage of people take part in tomorrow's referendum.

It would be an unpardonable mistake on the part of those people, who think that the proclamation of a people's republic is guaranteed even without their votes, and do not go to the polls.

No, every singly vote is important. The reaction in our country and our ill-wishers abroad should feel realistically and visually through the votes on September 8 the actual will of our people and their firm resolve to build the People's Republic of Bulgaria – for the good of our country and for the benefit of lasting peace among nations.

On behalf of the Workers' Party, on behalf of the Fatherland Front, and on my own behalf, I appeal warmly to all patriots – men, women and young people, to cast the ballot which will save our country:

For a people's republic.

Death to monarchism and fascism!

Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

Long live the Fatherland Front, which unites the Bulgarian people and guides Bulgaria's destiny!

Long live the militant, freedom-loving and hard-working Bulgarian people!

*Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 204
September 8, 1946*

*G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 12, pp. 292-296
Published by the BCP*

WE ARE BUILDING A GENUINE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

*Speech at the Ceremonial Meeting with Foreign Trade Union
Delegates and Journalists*

September 10, 1946

Such fine speeches have already been made here, that it seems quite unnecessary for me to take the floor. It would be difficult to add anything better than what has already been expressed. But since our Chairman ⁵⁶ insists that I should also make a speech, allow me to say a few words.

We are particularly gratified to see among us such dear guests, representing the anti-fascist, democratic, progressive-minded forces of the peoples in near and distant countries. To us, Bulgarian organized workers and employees, to our whole nation, the present moment is of particular importance, because the peace conference which is examining, discussing and preparing the provisions of the peace treaties with Germany's former satellites, including Bulgaria, is in progress in one of the big European capitals. As you know, some of the delegates to this conference and certain circles around it do not wish to recognize new, democratic Bulgaria. They do not wish to recognize us as a co-belligerent country with the other united nations, in spite of the fact that up to the armistice we took an active part in the war against Germany for its utter defeat and also helped our neighbours, the Greeks, get rid of the nazi invasion. The Greek Government now impudently lays unfair and intolerable claims on Bulgaria. The representatives of various international combines and trusts, who want to enslave the small nations economically and politically, are also refusing to recognize us. But we are happy to notice that all honest and scrupulous nations

in Europe are recognizing new Bulgaria, our people's democracy, and agree that we are following the only correct path – that of progress, of prosperity, that of our nation's freedom and happiness, of establishing, consolidating and promoting lasting and just peace among all nations in the world.

It is continually suggested to us that if Bulgaria submits to the pressure of the reactionary circles, it will obtain a more acceptable peace treaty. They want us to sell our freedom and independence, our whole future for a bowl of lentils, as the saying is.

Our nation is unfortunately small, but it is not alone. It is marching hand-in-hand with the great Soviet Union. Our nation has a friendly neighbour in the person of new, democratic Romania. Our nation enjoys the love and admiration of democratic Czechoslovakia and democratic Poland, of new Hungary. We enjoy increasing admiration, understanding and support from considerable democratic forces in France, Britain and America. As regards Bulgaria itself, I must make it perfectly clear that the Bulgarian people, who endured the Ottoman rule for five centuries without bending their heads, who fought against fascism and monarcho-fascist dictatorship with might and main for two decades, this tough, democratic nation of workers and peasants will not fall on its knees before such threats and blackmail.

We hope that our friends from France, our friends from Britain and all our guests will bring home to their countries the truth about our country, about our people's democracy, our human ideals. They can state confidently in the press, in speech and in every other way that such as it is, such as it proved to be on September 9, 1944 in particular and ever since, the Bulgarian nation will only live and exist by standing straight. Whatever may happen, this nation will not swerve from the right path it has taken. It has linked its fate forever with that of the great Russian people, and of the whole Slavonic world; it has linked its fate with that of the whole world's democracy. Whatever may happen, whatever threats may be directed against it, it will follow

this path with unflinching faith in the victory of its right cause.

Dear visitors, you witnessed the voting which took place on September 8. Malicious journalists serving our enemies, bribed newsmen from our country and outside are spreading reports abroad that our nation was disunited, that there was a tremendous opposition here, that the government was in the hands of a few party groups unsupported by the people themselves. What has September 8 shown, in spite of this? What has the referendum made clear?

92 per cent voted for a national republic and only 4 per cent for the putrid and criminal monarchy.

Is there unity among our people? What better proof could there be of the cemented unity of the democratic Bulgarian people than what took place on September 8? It would be true to say that our people voted unanimously for a republic. But still more important, and what I would like to emphasize before our guests from abroad, is that on September 8 our people voted not merely for a republic, but explicitly for a people's republic, as was previously explained to them. It is one thing to vote merely for a republic, and quite another to vote for a people's republic. By their votes on September 8, the Bulgarian people declared that they stand for *a people's republican government and not for a plutocratic republic*.

We are well aware, and our foreign friends should know this, that the forthcoming solemn official proclamation of our republic as a result of the referendum *is not all*. The people's republic which will be proclaimed by the National Assembly on September 15 demands persistent labour so that it can be shaped into a real people's republic. We are trying to be realists. We do not close our eyes and do not wish to make our people and especially our heroic working class the victim of harmful illusions. There are difficulties. There are thistles and stones along the way. It is an arduous one, it is not smooth, like the pavement in September 9 Square. But we have profound faith in the people's forces, we have resolute willpower, we have militant hearts and a revolutionary experience which will

enable us to surmount all difficulties. In the struggle against monarchism, fascism and reaction, our nation gained fine political experience and will appear in the forthcoming elections prepared both politically and ideologically to elect a real Grand National Assembly. We know that success, victory and happiness belong to those who show courage, who do not bend their heads nor drop their hands before difficulties, but fight to overcome difficulties and are steeled in this fight as individual citizens and as a nation to march forward and ever forward towards nation-wide prosperity.

Our nation sincerely wishes to have the just and well-deserved support of the so-called Western democracies, too. There can hardly be any doubt of the fact, that your France. Mr. Jacques Paris (turning to the French Ambassador in Sofia), your France, comrade Frachon, if she seriously wishes to be a really great country in Europe – *which she should be indeed*, should support the democratic regimes in Southeastern Europe. This is above all in the interest of the French people, but it is also in the interest of all Europe, for the establishment of lasting peace among all nations.

We are particularly gratified that in the Labour Party there is a progressive wing which stands for people's democracy and that it tries to refresh and rejuvenate an old aristocratic democracy. We welcome with great satisfaction comrade Ziliacus's⁵⁷ statement that in the person of the Labour Party the British working class are marching towards socialism and are trying to achieve socialism in a peaceful way. If this happens in Britain, under British democracy, we Bulgarians will be the first to rejoice with all our hearts. *But to work for achieving socialism in Britain and at the same time to have representatives of the British Labour Government help choke democracy in Greece and impede the development of people's democracy in our country, Yugoslavia, Poland or elsewhere, are two things incompatible to human reason.* Everyone can easily understand that the achievement of socialism in Britain should also involve a democratic foreign policy.

I would like to tell our British friend and our guests

that we, our Workers' Party (Communists), our working class, and our trade unions, having analyzed the general situation and motive forces in the Balkans, having reviewed the experience gained in the Second World War and tried to make use of it, we also believe that it is perfectly possible in Bulgaria, with the necessary work and preparation on the basis of people's democracy and a parliamentary regime, to pass over to socialism one day. And so the Bulgarian communists have set themselves the noble ambition to work and help the economic, social and cultural progress of our people to reach a level, which will make the realization of socialism a nationwide undertaking.

At the present stage, however, our one principal and immediate task is to build up the people's republic. The better we build it, the mightier it becomes in economic, cultural, moral and political respect, the surer and more painless will it be for our people – workers, peasants, craftsmen and the people's intelligentsia, all honest and patriotic people – to take the salutary path of socialism. Socialism is known to be a historical necessity to every nation. As to the question, in what way, in what span of time, when, how and by what means it will be achieved, is a different matter.

We are convinced that we shall be able to build a genuine people's republic with our own efforts and with the aid of our true friends and comrades in the other democratic countries. Bulgaria will be a model people's republic with a real parliamentary regime. This is guaranteed by our heroic working class, this is guaranteed by our numerous hard-working, tough and tenacious peasant mass, this is guaranteed by the sound people's intelligentsia, this is guaranteed by *our strong and invincible Fatherland Front*.

In the past, the smaller nations learned from the larger ones. They will continue to do so with still greater persistence in future. Yet I shall say before the representatives of the great countries, if they forgive my immodesty, that we are now living in times when *big nations can also learn something from the people's democracy of a number of smaller nations.*

Allow me to propose a toast to the unity and militant strength of the Fatherland Front, because without the Fatherland Front we would not have won the people's victory, such as it was on September 9, 1944, because without the Fatherland Front we would not have witnessed what took place on September 8, 1946 – our people's unanimous vote for a people's republic, and because *without the Fatherland Front it would be impossible to build a real, strong and successful People's Republic of Bulgaria!*

Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 208
September 13, 1946

G. Dimitrov, Works
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ON THE ROLE AND TASKS OF 'FILOSOFKA MISUL' REVIEW

Reply to Questions Posed by the Editor

To my great regret, I have not been able to obtain an academic education. Nevertheless, long ago, in my early youth, while I was doing my practical public and political work for the working class and the Bulgarian people, I felt that without grasping the fundamental scientific principles of the development of nature and society, without comprehending the reaches of philosophy, I would not be able to carry on a correct and valuable public and political activity. Hence I began, with dogged persistence, surmounting colossal difficulties, to study the principal works of some of the ancient Greek and modern European philosophers, such as Descartes, Spinoza, Kant, Hegel, and Feuerbach, among other representatives of the materialistic and idealistic philosophic schools. I took particular interest in the works of Marx and Engels, Plekhanov and Lenin. The more I studied them, the more I was convinced that it was absolutely necessary to combine *fully practice with theory*, because *practice without theory is blind*, and *theory without practice is fruitless*. This is particularly true of the working class, which has to fulfil the historic task of both elucidating scientifically and correctly, and of changing *existence* radically in its favour, in favour of the people. As the great Lenin pointed out many times, there can be no revolutionary practice without a revolutionary theory.

Hence I can speak on the questions directed to me primarily on the basis of my own long experience.

To my mind, the periodical 'Filosofska Misul' is extremely necessary in our country. One could even say

that it has made its appearance somewhat too late. It will have to play a tremendous role. In my modest opinion, as I understand its tasks, especially in the forthcoming period parallel with its basic, fundamental task of bridging the gulf between progressive philosophy and the people, the intellectuals above all, it should make the achievements of philosophic thought accessible to the whole people by raking out philosophy from the scholars' studies and bringing it to the field of actual, practical life in our country. These tasks of the review could be formulated, in brief, in the following way.

First. It should expose the fascist ideology (racism, the theory of the domination of 'super' races over the 'inferior' ones, the Führer principle, the theory of the superman and our pan-Bulgarian chauvinism) and assist in every possible way its eradication. We should not forget that without liquidating the fascist ideology, against which our universities, literature and culture are not yet waging a sufficiently strong ideological fight, we shall not be able to efface all the remnants of the fascist regime from our social and political life. The fascist ideology has struck deep roots, especially in the heads of part of the Bulgarian intelligentsia, and it will be no simple and easy task to do away with this venom.

Second. It should reveal and scourge the fascist distortion of history, and of our own history in particular. Our historical literature and text-books from which our students and pupils study our nation's history are full of most detrimental distortions and flagrant falsifications. The 'Filosofska Misul' will have to do much beneficial constructive and critical work in this respect. A scientific, Marxist criterion should be worked out and popularized as soon as possible for the proper elucidation of the important periods and major events in our nation's history, especially in the last century. This should be done with clarity and coherence, on the basis of a scientific analysis of historical facts. It has not been stressed in vain that history, well understood, is the best teacher of the present and the future and that its rich treasure of lessons should be utilized. We

need a *Marxist philosophy of our historical development*, just as we need bread and air.

Third. The review should help the people's intelligentsia and primarily the intelligentsia of the working class and the peasantry develop a sound, scientific, Marxist world outlook, to master the essence of Marxist philosophy in its most modern form – Leninism, the *Marxist dialectical method*, not only as a sure means of properly elucidating the past and present, but also as a *guidance for action* in solving the major and intricate tasks of the moment and in pushing forward our country's progressive development. The entire experience of the world working class movement, especially that gained in the Second World War, has shown the tremendous importance of disseminating the principles of the dialectical method in the study of social life, social history and the laws of social development. It has shown the tremendous importance of these principles to the practical activities of the working class and its party.

Fourth. 'Filosofska Misul' should make a considerable contribution to the fight against the various decayed and retrograde idealistic philosophic schools and trends, which serve the revival of fascism and are the ideological weapons of reaction against the progress of people's democracy. Parallel with this, the review is bound to denounce with arguments and concrete facts all and every attempt to pervert the live, constructive and militant teaching of Marxism and thoroughly work up from a Marxist point of view the new problems on the ideological front related to the rule of the Fatherland Front in our country and to its tendencies and development prospects. Precisely in this sense, the review should also deal with the basic methodological questions of all sciences, especially of those which are directly connected with the economic, social and cultural development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Fifth. The review has another important task to fulfil. It should systematically arouse interest in our country in philosophical matters, disseminate love of science, and prompt with all its activity our studious working young

people persistently to educate themselves, for which purpose it should assist them concretely and efficiently in every way.

Naturally, it is of great importance to the successful fulfilment of these tasks that the 'Filosofska Misul' should be edited popularly, so that it can become accessible to the average reader, who has not gone to high-school or the university. It is not true that one cannot write about philosophical and other theoretical problems in a simple, clear, easily understandable way. The best example in this respect comes from the great classics of Marxism. To this end, however, the authors should always bear in mind the readers for whom they write and avoid the harmful routine of the bourgeois philosophers who clothe themselves in scholarly garb by using a language inaccessible to the average reader, and designing their 'works' just for 'specialists', for the select 'spiritual aristocracy'.

I also think that the editorial office of the review should have the noble ambition gradually to grow into a modest laboratory of scientific philosophic thought in our country, which will gather the most and democratic scholars and become a school for the education and training of new Marxist pioneers of Bulgarian science, who are of such vital importance to new Bulgaria.

I cannot but point out that the role of the review is extremely hard and responsible. It lays very high and serious claims on the editors and their contributors. It requires of them knowledge, skill, tremendous systematic work and strict self-criticism, so as to make it ever more satisfactory.

As to the relations between the 'Filosofska Misul' and the 'Contemporary', I should say that these two magazines are by no means competitive. On the contrary, each has its own specific tasks, and these tasks *complement each other*. It should not be forgotten that the 'Contemporary', which is the theoretical and political organ of the Workers' Party (Communists), is primarily an operative and directive fortnightly review of current affairs, and especially of current problems of our Party, the Fatherland Front and our people in general.

Finally, let me express my great satisfaction at the appearance of the 'Filosofska Misul' review and sincerely to wish its editors the best of success.

Signed: G. Dimitrov

September 15, 1946

*Filosofska Misul, No. 3
July-September, 1946*

*G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 12, pp. 305-310
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ON THE NÜRENBERG TRIAL
Statement Made before a French Journalist

The Nürenberg Trial⁵⁶ is of tremendous importance to world democracy. In spite of the great disappointment, owing to the unjustified acquittal of Schacht, von Papen and Fritzsche, the sentence deserves a positive assessment.

This sentence is a serious warning to all like Churchill, who now after Hitler's defeat wish to take his place in the fight for world supremacy. It is a strict and categorical warning to all those who instigate a new aggressive war, against the Soviet Union in particular. They all should bear in mind the way in which Hitler, Goering and all their adherents started and ended their campaign against bolshevism, against democracy, for world domination. The candidates for Hitler's and Goering's places cannot expect a better fate. They will not be able to make a long journey like Hitler's from 1932 to 1945. They will reach their Nürenberg in a much shorter time.

There are no prophets in the world. I also did not consider myself a prophet at the Reichstag Fire Trial. But when in 1933 Goering brandished his sword over my head, at the court as the unlimited master of Germany, I was profoundly convinced that sooner or later the odious nazi Germany would suffer fiasco together with Hitler and Goering. It was precisely this firm belief that gave me the moral strength to withstand all the horrors to which I was subjected.

Hitler and Goering wanted to annihilate communism. Hitler and his barbaric gang wanted to annihilate world democracy, they wanted to annihilate the Soviet Union and force their tyranny upon the whole world. They did not manage to annihilate communism. On the contrary, communism grew many times stronger in all countries.

They did not manage to annihilate democracy. On the contrary, democracy is flourishing as a people's democracy precisely as a result of the lessons drawn from the war. Nor did they manage to annihilate the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the great country of socialism became a hundred times stronger and mightier morally, politically and materially. They proved unable to force their fascist tyranny upon the nations in the world. But parallel with all this, as they committed their monstrous crimes and bathed Europe in blood, they destroyed *one-half* of their own nation, plunged their own country into an awful catastrophe, unprecedented in human history, and found their well-deserved place in the ground or on the gallows.

This is a fine lesson for all who have brains to think, ears to hear and eyes to see.

To me, personally, the verdict of the Nürenberg court is a great moral satisfaction. The hangmen who were preparing the gallows for me in Germany are now ending their own disgraceful and criminal lives on the world's gallows.

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October 8, 1946

G. Dimitrov, Works
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MARCH AGAINST REACTION AND FASCISM, FOR THE
TRIUMPH OF THE CAUSE OF THE SALUTARY AND
INVINCIBLE FATHERLAND FRONT!

*Speech before the Parliamentary Group, Members of the Central
Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) and
Sofia City Party Activists*

September 28, 1946

Comrades!

The elections for the Grand National Assembly, as you yourselves understand, are of tremendous domestic and international significance to our country. The Grand National Assembly will fulfil the task of elaborating and passing the Constitution of our young republic. By its nature and content this Constitution will have to be well fit to lay firm foundations for the building of the People's Republic. Under the Act, passed by the National Assembly, the Grand National Assembly will function up to one year after passing the new Constitution. This Grand National Assembly will have to do a great deal of constructive legislative work. It will have to work better than the ordinary National Assembly, which I should say, has done its job for our people and country quite satisfactorily so far.

As to the international significance of the elections, it consists above all in the fact that they will offer a still more eloquent proof of the patriotic unity of our nation. The Grand National Assembly, by its composition and activity, especially in elaborating the new Constitution will help shatter the last prejudices and fallacies existing in Europe with respect to new Bulgaria, its people's democracy and its just national cause. This will considerably facilitate the solution of our major problem – the conclusion of a just peace treaty.

In view of this particular importance of the elections

for the Grand National Assembly, which greatly exceeds in importance that of last year's elections for the ordinary national assembly, our Party and the entire Fatherland Front should exert all their efforts to make it a genuine Grand National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria not only by the number of its deputies, but by its nature and quality as well.

In the forthcoming election campaign for the Grand National Assembly, the Fatherland Front will come out with a joint platform. The draft constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, unanimously approved by the National Committee and the Fatherland Front parties, will form an essential part of this platform. The Fatherland Front will come forward as an integral union of all anti-fascist, democratic and progressive forces of our nation for the construction of a people's republic against reaction, the survivals of fascism, and all oppositionist circles in Bulgaria, of which the various opposition groups are the agents, as you all know.

In coming forward with a joint platform, the Fatherland Front has decided to have the individual parties in it use their own ballots of specific colours, which means that each elector who casts his vote for the Fatherland Front may vote for those candidates whom he prefers. There are naïve people in our country, who are politically short-sighted, but we also have malicious enemies who already predict that the various colours of the ballots shows the disintegration of the Fatherland Front, the 'death of the Fatherland Front', as the Agrarian 'Green Banner' writes, for example.

Comrades, if our Fatherland Front can be shaken and done for by the fact that its parties are taking part in the elections with individual party colours, we needn't be sorry for such a Fatherland Front. But the truth is quite different. The Fatherland Front is a union of the sound national forces in our country. It has struck deep roots among our people. It has scored successes before September 9, and the historic victory of September 9 is its primary merit. It has also scored a great many successes and done many useful things for the nation since September 9, in spite of

the exceptional domestic and international difficulties. It has a sober and critical attitude to its government and is working day in and day out with the help of the best sons and daughters of the people to correct the existing errors and shortcomings, so that our country can march forward along the road of general well-being of the people. *No stormy weather in the Bulgarian skies shall shake the foundations of such an unconquerable Fatherland Front.*

We have an instructive example in Czechoslovakia. In the last elections there, the Fatherland Front parties not only came forward with individual party colours, but acted quite independently. What was the result? Did the Fatherland Front in Czechoslovakia fall to pieces, or did it emerge from the elections still stronger than it was? The truth is that the Fatherland Front and its Government, which are leading the country from success to success, emerged from the elections much stronger than they were before.

There are people in our country who are keen on slandering our people. They say that such a thing would not be possible here. 'Our people,' they say, 'are Balkan folk. Their morals are terrible, wild passions will be unleashed.' This is a slander! Such things happened in the past, through the fault of monarchism, through the fault of fascism and the rotten bourgeois parties and factions. Many things have changed since that time. Many things have changed. Deep changes have taken place in our country, and in the minds, hearts and souls of our working people. No, today we have sufficient guarantees that we shall surmount all difficulties in this respect and have an election campaign, in which the rivalry between the individual Fatherland Front parties will not exceed the limits of their friendly co-operation and common struggle against reaction, against fascism, against the malicious oppositionists who are the tools of our domestic and foreign reaction. Naturally, the system of using separate party ballots has its pluses and minuses.

We do not shut our eyes to the minuses, by no means. But we know the numerous important pluses. And the whole nation should know them too.

What are the pluses in voting with individual ballots under a joint Fatherland Front programme?

The first plus consists in the fact that contrary to last year's elections of November 18 – a much larger number of voters will certainly take part in the coming elections, thanks to the joint efforts of all five Fatherland Front parties. The Fatherland Front will thus poll a larger number of votes for the lists of its candidates than it would, if the parties participated in these elections with a single ticket, of a single colour, as they did last year. This is the first plus, and it is significant.

The second plus consists in the fact that each party will have the opportunity to check its real moral and political prestige with the people, which will help it in future to avoid erroneous illusions and dangerous presumptions in this respect. This is the second plus, which is quite useful.

The third plus consists in the fact that this kind of voting and this kind of election campaign will offer an opportunity to check the political maturity of each party and its attachment to the Fatherland Front which is of great importance to us and to our people. We are allies, we have fought hand-in-hand up to September 9, and we have fought and worked hand-in-hand since that date. Now all of us will be put to the test, to show how far we have learned to be loyal, tolerant and considerate to each other as separate parties, how far we are actually devoted to the Fatherland Front programme, to the historic cause of September 9 and to our young people's republic. These pluses are, so to say, of a domestic nature.

But there is also a *big plus* of international significance. What is it?

As you know, our ill-wishers abroad use as a most serious trump card and a most popular argument for their assertion that the Fatherland Front Government is not a truly representative government the fact that we have held elections with a single ticket, composed of the leaders of several parties. We have appointed the deputies, so they say, appearing before our electors on November 18 last and telling them: sanction what we have already done! We imposed the deputies; we did not allow the electors, as they

say, to elect the deputies they wished. Well, our present method of voting draws this trump card; it shatters to pieces this argument of our enemies. This time we shall come forward with a joint platform, but with our individual party colours, and the electors will be absolutely free to vote for a Communist, if they wish, or for an Agrarian, a Zveno member, a Social Democrat, or a Radical. Can there be any greater polling freedom than this? Can greater representative character of the future Grand National Assembly and the future Fatherland Front Government be ensured than through this method of electing deputies?

But there are also minuses. They actually boil down to a single serious minus, which we take into account and should always bear in mind throughout the election campaign. This minus consists in the fact that since the parties included in the Fatherland Front will have individual voting papers, they will each try to obtain the largest possible number of votes. In doing so, they may be compelled to agitate against their allies. In consequence of this, their co-operation may be shaken and undermined. This will weaken the unity of the Fatherland Front, which will be harmful and undesirable, and may lead to serious consequences for our country in future. It would be wrong to deny the existence of this danger. This danger is a really serious one.

But are we in a position to overcome it? Is it within the power of the Fatherland Front to eliminate it completely, or at least 95 per cent, if not 99 per cent? It certainly is. How can we cope with this danger in actual fact?

In the first place, through our joint political platform, which shall be a law for Communists, Agrarians, Zveno members and all Fatherland Front members alike. This platform is the basis, the solid foundation of our election campaign, the political and moral tie which keeps all Fatherland Front parties together.

In the second place, through mutual agreement, which was confirmed by all parties leaderships yesterday, and according to which the election campaign and election propaganda will be carried out in a way not directed

against any of the Fatherland Front parties. It will be directed against reaction and against those forces which stand in the way of Bulgaria's democratic development, of her economic rehabilitation, the settlement of her international status, and the conclusion of a just peace treaty — the forces which abuse the national and state sovereignty of our people. At these forces shall we level our common ideological and political fire — our infantry, artillery, cavalry, air force and all other weapons. Infantry, artillery, cavalry and air force, ideological and political, will have to deaden all and every desire of reaction to impede the further advance of our People's Republic.

In the third place, through the election committees which will be set up within the Fatherland Front, in its National Committee and local branches. The task of these election committees will be to assist the parties in conducting the election campaign, in settling efficiently and in a friendly way all conflicts, disputes and incidents which may arise among the allied parties of the Fatherland Front during the election campaign. In addition to all this, to avoid this really existing danger, a number of other concrete measures may be taken, with good will, of course, which exists and has to exist, because it is the will of the nation itself, which wants to have the unity of the Fatherland Front consolidated and not weakened.

We are interested to have the opposition groups take part in the elections for the Grand National Assembly for two main reasons:

First, because it is high time that these groups came out openly before the electors, the people, and showed their real face to them; that they were compelled to put forward their own 'platforms', their own 'proposals', and 'arguments', so that the people may see how rotten the opposition and its various groups are indeed. This will be a great plus for our people. This will be a great achievement for the political upbringing of our masses, because we are building everything, as you know, upon the ideological and political advance of our nation.

There is also a second reason, for which we are in-

terested to have the opposition groups take part in the Grand National Assembly elections.

Since the last elections, our ill-wishers abroad, who want democratic, progressive Bulgaria to be helpless and even exterminated, support our opposition in every possible way – in the press, in public statements and everywhere – presenting this opposition as an immense power, and even as having the majority of our people on its side. All facts speak against this, of course. Every impartial correspondent and foreign visitor to our country has been able to see for himself that this is not true. In spite of the force and logic of actual facts, these ill-wishers of ours still keep maintaining this legend. This is also done by official representatives who claim to have great international prestige and to decide the fate of the world. We are interested, our nation is interested that an end should be put at last to this legend, which does harm to our country. It will be done away with by having the opposition groups take part in the elections for the Grand National Assembly through their candidates. Every observer abroad and every agent of international reaction will be able to see that our opposition is a political minority which does not deserve a penny worth of international notice, and still less this tremendous campaign, which costs so many dollars and pounds sterling.

That is why the opposition will be given all and every opportunity to nominate and register its candidates according to the laws in our country. It will be able to hold meetings, print appeals and publish newspapers in its favour. It will also be allowed to use the radio, our state-owned, Fatherland Front radio, to announce to the nation and the electors its 'programme', its 'platform'.

Naturally, Comrades, in spite of all these favourable conditions, it is not at all certain that the opposition groups will take part in the elections. Why? – For two reasons.

First and foremost, because the opposition in our country is not independent. It is prompted by others. It plays its political game to the tune of others. And as you know, there are interested circles abroad, which can suggest to it, even after registering its tickets, to boycott the elections, so

that they can stand a certain chance of still blowing the trumpet that the Grand National Assembly is not representative, that the opposition has not participated in the elections. That only the Fatherland Front appeared before the people with its candidates, with its platform, and the opposition boycotted the elections. However inconvenient it may be politically for the opposition groups to repeat the foolish blunder they made on November 18 last year, they may repeat it, because, as I said, they are not independent, because their leaders follow a foreign and not the Bulgarian patriotic line. This is confirmed by the fact that they are already searching for grounds for a boycott, seemingly 'justifiable', but undoubtedly altogether unjustified and fabricated. They are paving the ground psychologically and politically for an eventual boycott of the elections for the Grand National Assembly. But we can safely use in this case the Turkish proverb: 'You can take a horse to the water, but you cannot make it drink'. They may take part, if they wish, and they may stay out, if they don't. Nevertheless, it is in our interest that they stay. We will try not to give them a single justifiable reason by which to excuse themselves and boycott the elections for the Grand National Assembly. Not a single reason, I say!

The second reason for which the opposition leaders would once again boycott the elections undoubtedly lies in their low political self-confidence, in their fear of appearing before the people's court.

Two things are particularly important and to my mind decisive in the elections for a Grand National Assembly. Precisely on them should we concentrate our attention as a party and as a Fatherland Front. They are:

First. We should hold the elections for the Grand National Assembly in such a way as to allow no weakening of the Fatherland Front as a big national movement, as a factor of primary importance and mainstay of our People's Republic. On the contrary, despite all the ordeals and all personal embitterment which may occur during the election campaign, the Fatherland Front should appear in the Grand National Assembly still stronger, more stabilized, more efficient and with much stronger creative popular

power than heretofore, with a great and solid majority in the Grand National Assembly, whereby to solve its principal problems.

Second. We should conduct the election campaign and the elections on October 27 in such a way that they will be perfectly free, legal and regular, without serious conflicts and incidents, which our enemies will try to instigate in every possible way, so as to discredit the outcome of the elections for the Grand National Assembly.

These two things, these two problems we, and above all our Party, should be able to resolve.

Allow me to say a few words, plain, frank and categorical, about the administration and the people's militia in connection with the elections. Gone are those days when the bourgeois factions and cliques secured their majority in the 'National Assembly' through the administration and the police. We are living in such a period, our country is in such a position, that we have absolutely no need of charging the administration and the militia to carry out our elections. This is not their job.

The job of the administration and the militia is to see to it that the people display their 100 per cent free will in the elections for the Grand National Assembly. The better they fulfil this task, the greater will be the contribution of the administration and the people's militia to our nation, to our people's republic and to the destiny of the Bulgarian people, I should say.

All, down to the last employee in the administration and the people's militia should understand that he would do our Party, the Fatherland Front and our national cause a very doubtful service if he does not observe this rule strictly and fails to observe the laws of our country. These laws are sufficiently strong to put every one in his place, to cope with every agent-provocateur and every enemy of the people, so that the administration and the militia do not have any need of resorting to illegal measures, to measures outside the framework of the law.

The administration and the militia will certainly be provoked. Our enemies will try to make the ground slip-

pery and easy to cause incidents, which they will fan with the aid of our ill-wishers in Sofia and as well a thousand more abroad. For this reason, the administration and the people's militia should show discipline, self-control, firmness and foresight during the election campaign and on election day. All of us should control our nerves. This applies particularly to the administration employees and the militiamen. They should not succumb to any provocations whatever, they should restrain their own indignation, however justified it may be, and never overstep the limits of the law, but act to preserve law and order throughout the country during the election campaign and on election day. Our glorious Workers' Party (Communists), Comrades, does not need any illegal action on the part of the militia and the administration.

We rely exclusively on the people's trust, we rely on the masses.

Our strength lies precisely in the people's trust. The people's confidence is what we should consolidate and extend, what we should deepen through words and particularly through deeds, because in it lies our Party's strength and its bright future.

The circumstances in which our election campaign and the elections on October 27 will develop will undoubtedly be difficult. Compared with the last elections, the setting will be to a certain degree more complicated.

It should be emphasized here that our success in the elections for the Grand National Assembly will not go to the credit of our Party alone, but of the Fatherland Front and the nation as a whole. But this success can not be a lasting one, if a number of internal shortcomings and weaknesses within our own ranks are not done away with. Our election campaign should proceed on a high ideological level. We do not need cheap demagoguery. The latter can only be of harm to us. We should do intensive explanatory work, with facts and convincing arguments.

Our Party's deeds will be our best propaganda. In the past, on September 9 and ever since, our deeds have done us great credit, both morally and politically. The role played by our Party in favour of the working class, the pea-

santry and our whole nation, always upholding the banner of our people's liberation struggle against monarchism and fascism, against the people's plunderers and parasites, should be explained to the electorates.

Our Party is the main factor in defence of Bulgaria's freedom and independence, and its representatives and activists are daring and consistent defenders of the Bulgarian national cause. They were precisely the first to break through the ice in which our country was bound in its foreign relations for such a long time after September 9, and they are the ones who sacrificed and are ready to sacrifice their personal good for the good of our nation and country.

It is particularly important, in connection with the elections, that we should bring up the major problems facing our nation, such as elaboration of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, conclusion of a peace treaty, rehabilitation of the nation's economy, industrialization and electrification of our country, development and mechanization of agriculture, improvement of the social and cultural standards of the working people. It is necessary to do concrete and convincing explanatory work to shatter the slander that the communists stand for abolishing private property and private initiative in economic life, that they aim to adopt Soviet rule and communism in our country if they score convincing success in the elections; that the communists strive to incorporate Bulgaria within the bounds of the Soviet Union, that they are hostile to the so-called Western democracies, that they oppose trade with Britain and the United States, that in Bulgaria's domestic and foreign policy they fulfil the orders of Moscow, and so on. Meanwhile, it should be made clear to the electors, that the Fatherland Front, and our Party in particular, while establishing closest fraternal relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, do not exclude, but are working for achieving most normal and friendly relations between Bulgaria and the great Western states, provided that the Bulgarian people's national and state sovereignty is respected.

Please note and remember this: we are going to campaign for our Party on the basis of its deeds, the deeds of its

activists, without agitating against our allies. They on their part, are going to campaign for themselves and are expected to do so for their parties, without agitating against the communists.

The character of our canvassing and propaganda throughout the election campaign is very important. The Plenary Session of the Central Committee has given sufficiently clear directions as to the nature of the election campaign. I should like to draw your attention to the following fact in particular. Some of our speakers and propagandists suffer from a serious illness: they do not like to prepare their speeches. But listen! Much more experienced orators and propagandists than ours prepare every one of their speeches most seriously, whereas a number of our agitators appear at important meetings and gatherings before thousands and thousands of listeners, without having thought for a second what they will say to them. They speak extempore and sometimes say things which not only have no serious meaning, but are literally harmful.

In this election campaign our Party should set the requirement, without which no success will be possible, that every speech, even the shortest, should be prepared beforehand. It is not necessary to write it out, of course, but the main points, the fundamental thoughts, should be thought over and noted. The speaker should have an outline. He should not speak by 'inspiration'. Only the lazy poet relies on heavenly, unearthly inspiration. An idea comes to his mind during the night as he sleeps, and so he jumps up and writes down a poem. People who really create things of value work hard and seriously.

We do not mean sporadic ideas, but serious political agitation and propaganda. This is true not only of elections, but of the upbringing of the people, of youth and women, a large part of whom have never before taken part in political life in our country. Think of them. Don't fill their heads with hollow phrases and harmful, rambling statements. The Party's Central Committee will see to it that sufficient printed material – pamphlets and so on, are supplied. We already have quite a number of articles which

should be studied and used. Unfortunately, not all of our propagandists are doing what they should. Our ideological stockpile against our enemies, against our people's ill-wishers, is frequently left unutilized, like a dead, buried treasure. In this election campaign we should make a radical change in this respect, if we are to score a real and lasting success, if we are to reach the best possible real success in the elections for the Grand National Assembly.

A great deal should also be corrected in the attitude of some of our local functionaries towards Party members and the so-called 'simple people'. This auditorium is quite large, but I shall not refrain from telling you frankly: there is always the danger of a certain part of our leading functionaries – secretaries and members of district, county and town committees, as well as secretaries of Party locals turning into something like petty 'governors', treating the ordinary Party members haughtily, and still more so the ordinary citizens, workers or peasants. Some find it hard to descend from the political mount Parnassus, to which some of them have risen quite accidentally and maybe undeservedly. They need to get down for a while, amongst those simple folk, without whom our Party and the Fatherland Front cannot score any serious, lasting success. The Party leadership alone cannot guarantee the success of our popular cause.

It is our duty to lead properly. If we do so, we may be praised, and if we don't, we shall have to be criticised. In the final account, three quarters of the success of our cause depends precisely upon these ordinary 'simple people' at enterprises, offices, villages, hamlets and so on. It is primarily due to them! Some, however, have taken it into their heads that because they were in a partisan detachment and sacrificed everything, because the Party has praised them and conferred distinctions and always remembers them, they can behave haughtily and give orders and look down upon the so-called 'simple people', whereby they discourage and repulse valuable persons who could work for the Party and the Fatherland Front, for our great cause.

Every smaller or bigger functionary and activist of our Party should be capable of uniting all honest people; not

only of keeping those who have joined us, but of increasing the number of those who are in the Party ranks and around them. I shall repeat: a radical change should be made here too. If there was a trumpet, a powerful trumpet, whose sound could be heard all over the country to the last cottage, it should be used to announce precisely this: that all those who are probably unconsciously doing harm to the Party and to the common popular cause should come to their senses.

In this election campaign, wherever demagogues may appear, their demagogy and the delusions they spread around should be parried by the personal example of each Party member, especially of the leading functionaries, in such a way that electors shall not turn their backs to our Party and the Fatherland Front, but on the contrary, new electors shall be won over, who will support us with all their heart and who will more or less actively work for this cause tomorrow.

Particular attention in this respect should be paid to women. Some people have begun spreading the rumour that I am their only protector. I would not like to be unique in this respect; our whole Party should take up the issue. It should be well understood that even the most uneducated, semi-literate or even illiterate peasant woman can do some very useful work for the Fatherland Front if she is assisted, supported, encouraged and given a proper place, especially in the present election campaign, when leaflets and voting papers will have to be spread about and extensive canvassing agitation secured.

Our election campaign will be based on personal canvassing from house to house, and from man to man. The great mass of women should be mobilized – not only those who belong to our Party and to the social organizations, but also those who are not organized and who at first sight do not seem to be interested in politics and in that which is taking place in our country. They should be stirred into action, they should be initiative, their political level should be raised, and their will should be strengthened, so that they may show the desire and be inspired to do something,

as far as they can, for their house, hamlet, region, enterprise, office – in a few words, wherever they may appear.

It is absolutely necessary for us to reach all who are honest, respected and hard-working, to clarify things for them, to carry our justice to the last cottage in Bulgaria. And in this respect women and young girls can play an important part. Women are said to be born orators. It is quite natural and proper that they are by nature more gifted to express what they feel than men usually can. As a rule, their words gush from the bottom of their heart. If this heart is full of good intentions, and if their mind is imbued with the great ideas for which we are fighting and will continue to fight, women will become a tremendous force.

A few words about our participation and work in the mass social organizations – the trade unions, farmers' union, the women's union, the youth and sports organizations, the co-operatives and other social and cultural societies and organizations, which are formed on the basis of the Fatherland Front and in which our communists take an active part.

The election campaign within these organizations should not be held to favour this or that party, and not even our own, of course, but for the Fatherland Front, for the Fatherland Front platform. The following course should be taken: whoever votes for one or another party of the Fatherland Front, votes for our common national cause; and whoever votes for the opposition, votes for the enemies of the people and of the People's Republic. In the personal propaganda at the places where the members of these organizations live or work, the special qualities, special character and special merits of our Party may be mentioned, without directing this campaign against the other allied parties. Strict measures should be taken to prevent these public organizations from conducting a purely pro-Party agitation and propaganda. Our chairman of the Workers' Trade Union, for instance should not take the floor and make an appeal like: 'Comrades, cast your vote for the Workers' Party (Communists)! No! The leaderships of the General Workers' Trade Union and other similar organizations should not put forward openly and officially

an appeal, manifesto, or decisions and resolutions for this or that party, not even for our own. If we observe this, we shall not only lose nothing, but actually gain a great deal, if we are wise.

Finally, I would like to stress that in this election campaign not only our Party, but the other Fatherland Front parties as well will appear before the same court – the court of the people. This court is strict and severe. At places, under the enemies' influence, it may even be insufficiently fair to our Party. Hence we should roll up our sleeves, correct a number of shortcomings and weaknesses, carry out an honest, self-critical and explanatory campaign, show clearly the big nationwide undertakings of the Party, and appear before the people with pure hearts and with full faith in the success of our Party and of the Fatherland Front in the coming elections for the Grand National Assembly.

The efforts we make in this election campaign will not only be compensated for by the good results of the elections for the Grand National Assembly. We shall also be rewarded by the further development and activity of our Party and the Fatherland Front. After proclaiming the People's Republic, we shall have to cover a path strewn with thorns and gravel, a path not smooth, like the pavement of September 9 Square, but this path will lead us to a real general prosperity for our country and people. And this will be the laurels crowning the cause of our Party.

Let us work and fight with all our might, let us throw in all our ability and energy, our mind, and heart! March on, against reaction and fascism, against the people's enemies, for the triumph of the great popular cause – the cause of the salutary and invincible Fatherland Front!

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THE FATHERLAND FRONT WILL WIN, IN SPITE OF EVERYTHING!

Speech before an Election Meeting of 200,000 in Sofia

October 25, 1946

Citizens!
Comrades!

Two days are left until the elections for the Grand National Assembly. We Bulgarian men and women electors will be called upon on October 27 to elect deputies for a Grand National Assembly, which is unprecedented in our country for its historic significance. The fate of our homeland is to be decided for many years.

The future Grand National Assembly will have to fulfil three tasks of major importance.

What are these tasks?

The first and most important of them is to elaborate and adopt a new Constitution, the Constitution of our People's Republic. The preparation and adoption of this Constitution will stabilize the internal affairs of our country. It will put an end to all doubts and hesitations as to a possible revival of the hateful and accursed reactionary past. Our people will be able to devote their energies a hundred times more confidently than up to now to creative work, to the building of our young but highly self-confident and promising People's Republic. The sinister forces of fascism and reaction will be so strongly muzzled that they will be unable to go on disturbing the people's unity upsetting its constructive work, and impeding its progress along the path of progress and general national well-being.

Herein lies primarily the historic significance of the future Grand National Assembly, which is to be elected on October 27.

In the second place, the Grand National Assembly will be called upon to coordinate and bring our economic, social, cultural and other legislation in line with the letter and spirit of the new Constitution. In this way it will establish the necessary stability, law and order in our people's state. This is the second major significance of the Grand National Assembly.

But the Grand National Assembly will also have a third task to fulfil: it will have to consider, work out and adopt a state economic plan for the rehabilitation and development of our economy – a task hard and complicated, but extremely important.

Such an economic plan will establish the necessary coordination among the state, co-operative, public and private sectors of industry and trade, of our economy in general.

We know that there are still many vaguenesses and incongruities in this respect, which hamper the development and rational utilization of all potentialities and resources of our economy. We need a plan which will put every economic factor in its proper place and coupled with the necessary combination of the state, co-operative, public and private sectors, will enable our nation's economy to emerge from the mess into which the former fascist governments, the criminal former rulers had plunged it, so that it may take the wide road of such development which will lead to the general well-being and success of our nation.

But everyone can understand easily that the proper fulfilment of these major tasks will greatly depend on the composition of the Grand National Assembly, on what kind of deputies will be in it, what kind of people will solve these problems.

The Fatherland Front, its parties have taken pains to propose to the Bulgarian electors such candidates, who are likely to fulfil their patriotic duty to the nation and homeland at the Grand National Assembly with honour. The electors in our country are the ones who will make the final decision through their votes which of these candidates

will be elected, which of these candidates are most worthy of being sent to the Grand National Assembly.

The elections on October 27 are also of another major significance, which could be called without hesitation international significance. The conclusion of the peace treaty is forthcoming. There are, however, ill-disposed circles which manifested their will at the Paris Peace Conference and out of it, and are trying to impose difficult peace conditions on Bulgaria. It is not at all to their liking that our people, led by the Fatherland Front, have taken their fate in their own hands. They still refuse, as you know, to recognize our government, the government of the Fatherland Front, as representative one. They continue refusing Bulgaria's right to treatment as a co-belligerent country against the nazi barbarians. They are doing all they can – for which they receive sufficient tendentious material from our domestic enemies – to undermine the foundations of our People's Republic. These circles rely on the Bulgarian people's disunity.

In the morning of October 28; when the results of the elections become known in Paris, London, Washington and other capitals of the world, these circles will see clearly that our people is unified in its great majority, that a Fatherland Front Grand National Assembly has been elected by the will of the people. Thus the last trump of our ill-wishers will be wrested from their hands and our just national cause will prevail so much the sooner and surer.

When all this is borne in mind, it becomes clear that it is a supreme national necessity for our country to have a Grand National Assembly elected on October 27, which will not only be significant for the larger number of deputies, but also for its composition, including devoted, true servants of our people; such deputies, who will not bend a knee to international reaction, who will not shrink in the face of threats and hardships, but will stand firm on their feet, supported by the will, unity and militant spirit of our people; such sons and daughters of our people who will not be prepared to sell the freedom, independence and future of our People's Republic for a bowl of lentils, as the saying is; such deputies to the Grand National Assembly,

for whom our people's interests, our people's will will be a supreme and inviolable law.

Comrades, the Fatherland Front, its parties present to the men and women electors in Bulgaria a joint platform. As you know, the draft Constitution unanimously adopted by the National Committee of the Fatherland Front and the leaderships of the Fatherland Front parties forms an essential part of this programme.

Of course, this draft is not final. It only represents the basis of the future Constitution, which will be completed and passed by the Grand National Assembly.

The draft Constitution has been subjected for nationwide consideration.

Each man or woman elector has the opportunity to send to the National Committee of the Fatherland Front his or her corrections and suggestions. After being considered in this way, the draft of the future Constitution and all the material connected with it will be examined by the Constitutional Committee of the Grand National Assembly, which will thus be able to submit to the Grand National Assembly an improved draft for adoption as a future Constitution.

The Fatherland Front has been, and is guided by this intention: to have the new Bulgarian Constitution worked out by the collective mind and common will of our democratic-minded people. It will not be elaborated in the offices and studies of professors and scholars. Its provisions will pass through the minds and hearts of the electors all over the country, and it will become flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of our militant people.

In elaborating this draft, its authors have naturally taken into consideration many other constitutions, old and new. But they have tried to borrow from these constitutions only that which is useful and reasonable, and which suits our local conditions, our economic structure, our culture and the character of our people. They have also borrowed certain principles from the old Turnovo Constitution, which is of no use as a whole.

The draft constitution, proposed for discussion, is and should bear the character of a Bulgarian Constitution. We

learn and should learn from others, especially from those who are ahead of us. But we should do that in a way suitable and useful to our country, to its progress.

We should be careful not to copy literally foreign patterns, decrees and principles which do not fully correspond to our local conditions⁵⁹. We shall march forward, Comrades, we shall march forward along our own, Bulgarian path. We shall build our fate, the happiness of our children, upon Bulgarian foundations and shall not yield – when adopting the Constitution at the Grand National Assembly – to any foreign influence which may impede our forward march as Bulgarian people, as a Slav nation, as a nation which lives in a definite territory, in definite conditions and environment, a nation which has its own history.

As a matter of fact, although it has borrowed certain elements from other constitutions, the draft worked out by the Fatherland Front is a Bulgarian draft, because we are not creating a Constitution for other countries, but a Constitution for the Bulgarian People's Republic.

The discussion of the Constitution has not yet come to an end – it goes on and will continue even after the elections. But it can be said with full confidence even now that the masses in our country accept the fundamental principles of the draft with great satisfaction. These principles are already well-known to all and I shall not dwell upon them. Everything in the draft boils down to a general principle. It consists in the fact that all power stems from the people, is vested in the people, and is controlled by the people. The people exercise their right of supreme masters through the National Assembly and other representative organs elected by them on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot, as well as by Referendum. This constitutes the radical, profound difference between the draft for the Constitution and the old, outdated and bankrupt Turnovo Constitution.

The opposition leaders oppose to our Constitution the old Turnovo Constitution. Their position is obviously inconsistent. But they are not satisfied with this alone. They resort to scandalous distortions of the draft submitted by

the Fatherland Front. Especially of the paragraph pertaining to private property and the right of inheritance.

The draft Constitution has been printed in millions of copies in the newspapers and separate booklets. It has been distributed all over the country. Every elector can read article 8, which says explicitly:

Private property and private initiative in economy are recognized, and private property acquired by labour and thrift enjoys special protection.

The right to inherit private property is settled by law.

The great significance of this article of the draft Constitution consists in the fact that it protects the property of the farmers, craftsmen and all manual and intellectual workers in our country from the encroachments of profiteering capital and financial sharks, from the various big capitalists, money-lenders, bankers, and big landowners who, as we know, grabbed the small plots of the peasants and townsmen by all means and methods in the past. The draft Constitution guarantees this property and the right of inheritance.

This, however, does not stop the opposition's demagogues from asserting the opposite. They even go further in their impudence. The communists, they say, will take the property of the peasant and craftsman, they will take the house, the lodging of the townsmen, civil servant and pensioner, and will deprive their children of inheritance rights.

But, mark you, there are at least half a million farmers, craftsmen and other citizens in Bulgaria who are communists, or relatives and friends of communists and who also possess property. And those people assert that our Party is about to take the property of the farmers and townsmen! One should really have a loose nut in one's head to believe such tales.

But I shall take the occasion to declare categorically from this rostrum that precisely we communists are going to propose at the Grand National Assembly to have it

written plainly and clearly in the draft constitution that the private property of the farmer, peasant, craftsman, manual and brain worker and the right to its inheritance is to be consolidated and guaranteed for its owners and their successors forever.

Comrades, Electors,

The Fatherland Front will not only appear at the elections with a joint platform, of which the draft constitution will be as I said, an essential part – it will also come forward with its deeds, which are magnificent. These deeds are well-known to all Bulgarian men and women. They are only contested by the members of the opposition and foreign agents who are blinded by malice.

Those who do not have a short memory can recall what was done up to September 9, and what the Fatherland Front has accomplished since then, backed by the complete confidence and support of the Bulgarian people.

Which honest elector can deny that precisely the Fatherland Front saved our country on September 9, 1944 from a horrible national catastrophe and the danger of having Turkish troops, for example, appear on our territory? Had it not been for the Fatherland Front, which used the advance of the glorious Red Army, marching into Rumania, near the Danube, to carry out the people's uprising on September 9, we might have had Turkish troops in our country in the next few days. The Turkish army stood armed and ready at our boundary. This historic merit of the Fatherland Front should not be forgotten by any man or woman elector on October 27, when he or she takes the ballot to vote for deputies for the Grand National Assembly.

Which honest man can deny that the Fatherland Front saved the country from civil war, saved the nation's economy from complete disaster and restored our economic life? Had it not been for the Fatherland Front, had it not been for the unity of our people achieved by the Fatherland Front, we would have been in a situation not better than that which at present exists in Greece, where a real civil war is increasingly gaining momentum.

Who in our country does not know that the Fatherland

Front secured the successful participation of our army in the Patriotic War, whereby it rehabilitated the honour of our nation, which is today one of the most important arguments in favour of our national cause?

The Fatherland Front handed the fascist criminals – the people's murderers – to the People's Courts and the latter punished them severely but justly. This does Bulgaria great credit – morally and politically – before the democratic world abroad.

The Fatherland Front purged our army from perpetrators of coup d'états, conspirators and reactionaries and attached the army to the people solidly and forever.

Is it not true that the Fatherland Front, its policy, the alertness and efforts of its Government, saved the country from inflation, from a devaluation of the lev, which happened in all the other countries formerly allied to Germany? For a considerably long period our lev has long maintained its parity. The possibilities for its improvement are at hand, and it is not menaced, as the currencies of other countries, by the danger of further inflation.

The Fatherland Front saved the population from famine and the cattle from starvation.

The Fatherland Front stimulated the initiative of our people and youth for constructive labour and heroism, which is evidenced by the labour teams in industry, the teams helping agriculture, the teams which dig passes, like the Hainboaz Pass. Young people, women, workers and peasants perform miracles in the field of constructive labour, they make tremendous efforts for the country's well-being.

This year's state budget alone earmarks 14,000 million leva for construction projects, for the economic development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

It was the Fatherland Front which gave full rights to our women, to the Bulgarian townswoman and peasant woman, who have proved worthy of this distinction through their own struggle against fascism together with our men. Women in our country have been granted equal rights with men, and this will be still more strongly and explicitly confirmed in the Constitution. We can see our

women participating in noble emulation with men in every sphere of cultural and economic life.

I myself have noticed many times that women often surpass many men in their work, in their drive and persistence in overcoming difficulties. We shall witness this once again at the elections on October 27, when we shall give the women electors a nationwide welcome, because their votes for the candidates of the Fatherland Front will greatly help inflict crushing defeat over reaction.

The Fatherland Front has provided ample opportunities for developing the abilities and skill of young people in our country. The new Constitution will legalize and reaffirm the franchise and the right to election of young people over eighteen. The Fatherland Front believes that the future belongs to our glorious, militant youth, and not to the go-getters and socialite vamps who serve reaction. This will not take 10 or 20 years. Right away we shall give priority to our militant youth, the urban and rural Bulgarian youth capable of marching onward. We shall also see this youth on October 27. The malicious opposition will receive a large share of its crushing defeat from it.

Despite the great difficulties, despite the fact that we have become poor owing to the former fascist regimes, to German plunder and to last year's drought, the Fatherland Front has carried out a number of reforms to relieve the population — peasants, workers, employees and pensioners; it has granted pensions to the peasant women, introduced the Act on the working peasants' landed property, which provides for the distribution of land to hundreds of thousands of poor farmers; adopted the Act on progressive income tax, which exempts up to 400,000 tax-payers from taxation and relieves the burden of many thousands of others.

The Fatherland Front has also initiated a public health and social welfare policy. Children's homes, nurseries, hospitals, out-patient clinics and maternity homes are being opened in many villages, such as never existed there up to now, where our peasant mothers were formerly often left to die at childbirth, deprived of the most elementary obstetric aid.

Holiday houses are being set up for workers, employees and farmers.

New universities, high schools and study courses are being opened. Strong impetus is given to the development of culture and to the creative work of the people's intelligentsia.

Mother and child care has become a matter of special concern.

On the other hand, the Fatherland Front has issued an Act against those who have grown rich illegally, against those who have robbed the people, against those who have profited from the people's bread and the fruits of their labour. Measures have been taken to protect the people from those who up to September 9 has ample opportunities to dictate, exploit, oppress and plunder.

The Fatherland Front has secured the people's victory over the hateful monarchy and its supporters, and has set up a People's Republic.

In brief, the Fatherland Front did in two years' time as much for our country's development and our people's wellbeing, as was not done by former governments over full 50 years. With such achievements, which I shall not discuss in further detail, with such immense undertakings of popular benefit will the Fatherland Front and its parties appear before the electorate in our country. And they can rightly rely on the confidence of the great majority of the people.

Comrades!

We all know that the leaders of the opposition boycotted the last National Assembly elections. This time they evidently want to correct their mistake. They hold meetings, canvass, impudently criticize the Fatherland Front and its Government, slander unscrupulously, provoke indiscriminately, and at the same time protest that there is no freedom. But they never put forward a definite, concrete, constructive platform, which will bring good to the people. They do not have such a platform.

One thing unites the leaders of the opposition. It is negation — negation of the Fatherland Front, negation of

the people's rule, negation of all that is good for the people. Negation all along the line.

The leaders of the opposition are united by their common desire to turn back the clock of history, to restore the past in Bulgaria – the despicable, disgraceful, fascist, reactionary past. The people wish to advance, to consolidate the positions of what they have gained up to now, to go ahead with their construction work and to achieve prosperity, while the members of the opposition, these malicious critics and wreckers, are trying to pull them back. They are united by malice, which is a common sentiment in their ranks, malice towards the Fatherland Front. They did their utmost both at home and abroad to do away with the Fatherland Front, but the Fatherland Front stands and will continue to stand in its place, unshaken as a granite rock.

All this motley crowd of opposition leaders are united by their common service to domestic and foreign reaction. They are bickering with each other for the subsidies they receive from abroad. But all of them serve foreign and domestic reaction. On this point they are unanimous. They have joined so to say, the common platform of national treason.

Who has forgotten that the leaders of the opposition quitted their own parties, the Agrarian Union and the Social Democratic Party, at someone else's suggestion and deserted the Fatherland Front Government? Who has forgotten that by quitting their own parties and trying to form their personal parties under the same names they wanted to render a service to the foreign forces wanting to put an end to the people's rule in Bulgaria and do away with the Fatherland Front? They committed this grave national crime at the suggestion of others, as foreign agents. And ever since they have been doing their best to impede the creative work of the Fatherland Front, which is the work of our democratic people.

The opposition has two main weapons which it puts forward in the election campaign.

The first of these weapons is slander and lying. The members of the opposition are very diligent, energetic and

active in this field; they have a liking for it, it suits their mentality, the mentality of foreign agents. Tell me, what else, if not base slander, is the statement of the opposition leaders that the draft Constitution did not guarantee private property and the right to its inheritance, which I already mentioned?

What else if not anti-Bulgarian treacherous forgery is the publication and circulation of a non-existent, never made speech attributed to Mr. Byrnes, the American Secretary of State, with the purpose of confusing our people and discrediting our popular government abroad?

When the American representative was shown the text of this speech and asked: 'Is it true that the American Foreign Secretary, Byrnes, has made this speech?' he answered: 'How can anyone believe Mr. Byrnes to have made such a speech.' And yet, it is an actual fact that supporters of the opposition published this faked speech and that members of the opposition are circulating it. Even Louchev's daughter now lies in prison because she took part spreading this disgusting squib.

What else, if not high national treason is the fact that when our Government is making such great efforts to normalize Bulgaria's relations with America and Britain, the leaders of the opposition are discrediting our country and the Fatherland Front before the British and the Americans by all kinds of lies and slander. They are doing their best to prevent the necessary normalization of our relations with these countries. The leaders of the opposition are spreading slanderous rumours that neither the Americans nor the British will sign a peace treaty with the Fatherland Front Government. These pseudo-Bulgarians beg the Americans and the British not to conclude peace with Bulgaria, just because the Fatherland Front governs the country. It is difficult, indeed, to find an instance of more shameless and base treachery!

As a second weapon, the opposition makes use of the difficulties which have befallen our people as a result of the crimes of the fascist monsters, nazi plundering and the horrible drought we had last year.

Suffice it to recall only last year's campaign launched

by the Fatherland Front, its Government and the National Assembly to save the population from famine and the livestock from starvation. All honest people in our country were mobilized to collect food and straw. What did the opposition do at this same time? Its criminal agents set fire to the warehouses with provisions and straw.

The Fatherland Front has now been in power for two years. The difficulties are numerous. Certain errors have been made. Only he who does nothing does not err. But while the Fatherland Front, its Government, and especially our Party, which rely on the support of the population, are trying their best to cope with the existing difficulties, to eliminate shortcomings and correct errors, what is the opposition doing at this same time? Ask its candidates what the opposition has done up to now to eliminate shortcomings and overcome difficulties, to help the people! It only rejoices maliciously at the grave ordeals of our people and does its best to increase the difficulties. It has not yet made a single concrete proposal which might be of use of our country. And I could declare that our Party is ready to give a 100,000 leva prize to any elector who can point out a concrete, positive, constructive and useful proposal on the part of the opposition. No such exists, indeed! Even if you should go looking around with a lantern, like Diogenes in the old Greek legend did, seeking a real man with a lantern by day, you would not find such a serious, concrete, useful proposal of the opposition.

It is quite easy to understand why this is so.

By its membership, nature and deeds, the opposition is not a Bulgarian opposition. It is a foreign agency. It is the agency of reaction and of big parasitic capital. It consists of fund-holders, big capitalist, profiteers, legionaries and fascist terrorists. Some of the richest men are its leaders. This opposition gives great satisfaction to the representatives of the big capitalist cartels and trusts, who try to enslave our country economically and efface its nationality.

The general motto of the opposition leaders is this: the harder the lot of the people, the better it will be for its sinister anti-national schemes!

What are the cherished aims of the opposition leaders?

They can be formulated in a few words like this:

First: The opposition leaders are trying to set at odds the Bulgarian people and their liberators – the great Russian people, the great Soviet Union, our most faithful friend and protector, the staunch defender of our national cause.

Second: They are trying to set at odds the Bulgarian people and their Yugoslav brothers, with whom we have a common fate.

Third: The opposition leaders are trying to set at odds peasants and workers, whose indissoluble friendship constitutes the basic force of the Fatherland Front and of the People's Republic in our country. The lack of such friendship, as all remember, facilitated the fascist coup d'état on June 9, 1923 and the establishment of a monarcho-fascist dictatorship, which raged over our people for over twenty years. The Bulgarian people, however, have suffered enough, they have given too many victims, and received too many bitter lessons to allow the perfidious leaders of the opposition to achieve their diabolical, anti-national aims.

The Bulgarian people know that in order to avoid a new June 9 they should protect the acquisitions of September 9 with might and main and never repeat the old errors of the past.

Our people now realize that to support such an opposition means to commit national treason. To vote for this anti-national opposition means to stab our People's Republic in the back.

When I speak of the opposition, I have in mind its leading faction, consisting of fund-holders, big capitalists, money-lenders, profiteers and corrupt politicians, and not those farmers, craftsmen, industrialists and businessmen, who are dissatisfied for various reasons and are misled by the demagoguery, lies and slanders of the opposition leaders. Such electors will have the opportunity of thinking things over until October 27 and many of them will certainly recall the wise popular saying that it is silly to burn the blanket to catch the flea. They will also have to remember

another of our proverbs: 'As you have made your bed, so will you lie on it.'

As to the opposition leaders, they should be reminded of what happened to Drazha Mihailovic in Yugoslavia.

Dear Electors!

The leaders of the opposition maintain hypocritically that if Bulgaria capitulates before international reaction, if it falls on its knees before the big bosses of the dollar and pound sterling, it will obtain a wonderful peace treaty. The only thing to do was to capitulate, only to concede the right of being its own master of foreign trusts and cartels, and banks.

It would be appropriate to recall in this connection the well-known fable about the wolf and the lamb.

As you know, the lamb was at the river bank for a drink of water. The wolf, standing a little above, blamed the lamb for mudding his water, the lamb said this was impossible because it was well down-stream from where the wolf was standing. But the wolf replied: 'I will eat you up anyway!'

This is how the imperialist financial wolves abroad are trying to behave with Bulgaria. But they are altogether mistaken in their design. They overlook a 'slight' hitch - that since September 9 our people, led by the Fatherland Front, can no longer be treated as a flock of sheep. This will not be. The Bulgarian people have proved that they are a militant people, ready to bear every privation and hardship, but be the full, sovereign masters of their homes, however modest and poor these homes may be for the present.

'Whether you muddle my water or not, I will eat you up!' This wolfish maxim is completely inapplicable to our heroic and militant people. Such a trick is ruled out with Fatherland Front Bulgaria!

Moreover, our people enjoy the well-deserved support of the Soviet Union.

Our people also enjoy the support of the other Slav peoples. Their just cause finds ever wider understanding and recognition in the Western countries as well. This also becomes clear from the statements of many foreign

journalists, deputies and other persons who have visited Bulgaria and who are now firmly supporting our just national cause abroad.

We are not alone.

What splendid and unforgettable support the representatives of the Soviet Union and our other Slav brothers rendered new Bulgaria in Paris!

The forceful words which Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, spoke at the last sitting of the Paris Conference are still ringing in the air. 'We confidently say to the Bulgarians, our friends: Bulgarians, be at ease, your borders will be left untouched'.

Allow me, on behalf of our people and its Fatherland Front, to express from this rostrum the warmest gratitude to all who have defended the just cause at the Paris Conference and out of it.

Let me remind those who look upon us with displeasure because Bulgaria is building people's democracy and not 'democracy' after the Greek pattern, that the Fatherland Front acts entirely in the spirit of the Yalta Declaration of the leaders of the three Great Powers, made on February 12, 1945. In this declaration it is explicitly said, in part:

The establishment of good order in Europe and the reconstruction of national economic life should be achieved in a way which will enable the liberated nations to destroy the vestiges of nazism and fascism and to set up democratic institutions after their own choice. In accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter as to the right of all nations to choose the form of government under which they will live, the restoration of the sovereign rights and self-government should be guaranteed to those nations which were deprived of these rights by the aggressive nations through violence.

In view of this declaration of the Great Powers, the Bulgarian people are profoundly amazed at the attempts of some countries, whose representatives signed the decisions of the Yalta Conference, to show themselves ill disposed towards the Bulgarian effort to efface the last vestiges of nazism and fascism in their country and to set up democratic institutions after their own choice. The

Bulgarian people cannot consider the recent behaviour of these countries but as being contradictory to the Yalta Declaration and as an encouragement to the survivals of fascism and reaction in our country.

To our people the decision of the Yalta Conference on this question is in force. And they will continue to go their own way, acting in accordance with this decision.

We are firmly convinced that despite all difficulties, despite all hostile attacks, despite all malicious intrigues of the opposition, the Bulgarian people will finally have a well-deserved and tolerable peace treaty, of which they have proved worthy through their sacrifices and the blood they shed, through their actions in favour of democracy and peace. We need only firmness, endurance, strong nerves and steadfast struggle for our sacred right to a free national existence.

Comrades, the Fatherland Front puts forward a joint platform and proposes that it be voted with ballots of the individual Fatherland Front parties.

Every man and woman elector, who votes for the Fatherland Front, will be perfectly free to vote for the candidates of that Fatherland Front Party which he or she prefers.

The parties which form the Fatherland Front are given the opportunity of sportsmanly competition with each other. The Fatherland Front will only gain by this. It will emerge from the elections still stronger and mightier than ever before.

Each vote cast for one or another Fatherland Front party is a vote for the Fatherland Front, against reaction and the people's enemies, a vote in favour of the People's Republic, in favour of the common national cause.

Together with the other Fatherland Front parties, the Workers' Party is taking an active part in the election campaign. Our Party is recognized as the initiator and founder of the Fatherland Front. It will never abandon this achievement, because the Fatherland Front is a national achievement, and the communists have no other goal and can have no other goal but the welfare of the people.

The Workers' Party was the chief organizer of the

resistance movement and the partisan struggle against fascism and the German invaders. It was the chief subjective factor securing the victory of the historic uprising of September 9, 1944. The Workers' Party and its young members took a most active part in the Patriotic War against the nazi barbarians. The Workers' Party is still the mainstay of the Fatherland Front. It is the strongest political party in our country, enjoying the full confidence of the masses. All this, of course, is by no means accidental. It is a completely logical occurrence. It is due to the Party's loyalty and devotion to the people, to its unflinching struggle and to the immense sacrifices it has made for our common cause. It is also due to its efforts to consolidate the unity of the Fatherland Front, to its unceasing concern for the building of a Bulgarian democracy for the good of our people and country, and to its firm defence of the Bulgarian national cause.

This explains the frantic spite of the opposition leaders and their foreign protectors against the Workers' Party, against the Bulgarian communists.

Our people, however, are aware that we communists have no other goal but our people's well-being and happiness, the success of its undertakings, the progress of our nation, so that the latter may take its rightful place in the common family of freedom-loving nations and contribute its share to the progress of mankind.

Today, at the height of the election campaign, when all kinds of arithmetical estimates are made as to how many votes each party will poll, one thing remains beyond dispute – that the Fatherland Front will win, that the co-operation of the Fatherland Front parties will gain strength, that the stronger the Workers' Party becomes the mightier will the Fatherland Front be, the more successful the fulfilment of its programme, the more certain the building of our People's Republic, the greater the unity of our people's democratic and progressive forces under the Fatherland Front banner, and the stronger, firmer, more hardy and confident our nation.

Let no one be mistaken – there can be no real democracy without the Fatherland Front. Nor can

Bulgaria become a completely free, independent, mighty and flourishing People's Republic without the Fatherland Front. Our people cannot obtain a just, well-deserved and lasting peace without the Fatherland Front. Without the Fatherland Front they cannot attain their national goal – to safeguard their national independence.

For this reason, men, women, and young people, march on towards the brilliant victory of the Fatherland Front and the crushing defeat of reaction in the elections for the Grand National Assembly! The Fatherland Front will win, in spite of everything! No force in the world can defeat a nation which has taken its fate into its own hands and is always prepared to defend it courageously! There is not and there cannot be such a force!

Long live the invincible Fatherland Front!

Long live the indissoluble friendship between workers, peasants, craftsmen and the people's intelligentsia!

Long live the democratic, hard-working and freedom-loving Bulgarian people!

Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria and its Grand National Assembly!

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RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS FOR A GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Talk with Foreign Journalists in Connection with the Victory of the Fatherland Front in the Elections for a Grand National Assembly

October 29, 1946

It is quite natural to raise the question, what will the Bulgarian Government be now, after the elections for a Grand National Assembly, the results of which are already well-known to all.

The elections have brought a brilliant victory to the Fatherland Front, as you know. The opposition in our country thought of obtaining a majority with foreign aid. Its leaders canvassed, wrote and spoke that after October 27 Bulgaria was going to have a government of the opposition. The opposition leaders are even known to have quarrelled with each other about how to distribute the ministerial posts of the future government. There is a Bulgarian proverb, which says in such a case: 'They have prepared the pan before they have caught the fish.' Another proverb also fits these people very well: 'The bear is still in the forest, while they are quarreling how to divide its fur.' Such is the situation with our opposition now. It suffered a great moral and political defeat in the elections for a Grand National Assembly. It obtained only 101 out of all 465 seats of the Grand National Assembly, which is less than a quarter of the total number.

The Fatherland Front has the great majority in the Grand National Assembly. The Workers' Party, the party of the communists, occupies a central place in this majori-

ty, with 277 seats. In the Grand National Assembly which will be opened these days, we communists will constitute nearly 60 per cent of all deputies.

According to parliamentary practice and parliamentary traditions, on the basis of this majority in the Grand National Assembly, our Party could form its own government, as the British Labourites did, for example. After winning the last elections, they formed a homogenous government of their own, without taking any Conservative or Liberal. The people gave them the majority, gave them their confidence, and will hold them responsible for their government. They were not afraid of this responsibility. They took the power in their hands and declared that they would put socialism into effect. The question is, what could be more natural in Bulgaria, with this result of the elections for a Grand National Assembly if the communists did the same. No one could say a word against it from abroad, and the people in Bulgaria would find it quite natural and comprehensible. But in my own opinion, and in all probability our Party will decide the same, the future government in our country should not be composed only of communists. It will be a government of the Fatherland Front, which means that representatives of their Fatherland Front parties will take part in it, but not representatives of the opposition. If, however, in future, the opposition represented in the Grand National Assembly forms a group of deputies proving that they pursue a purely

Bulgarian national policy and are not foreign agents, it will be possible to speak of co-operation between the government and this group. But for the present, there is no such group. Our attitude to the opposition will depend solely on its own behaviour in the Grand National Assembly and out of it. Let me repeat again: the Government will be one of the Fatherland Front. The Workers' Party (Communists) today assume a great responsibility to the people and it is quite natural that it will not allow the formation of a government which will not correspond to the demands of our people, so clearly and categorically expressed in the elections of October 27.

It should be admitted that in the former government

there were people who hampered the decisive and consistent implementation of the Fatherland Front programme. Now, however, Bulgaria will be able to have a government supported by the great majority of representatives in the Grand National Assembly. Backed by those three million voters, who cast their votes for the Fatherland Front, and especially by the two and a half million workers, employees, civil servants, farmers, women and young people, organized in their trade unions and public organizations, the new Fatherland Front Government will be able to pursue firmly and resolutely, with still greater vigour and steadfastness, the domestic and foreign policy of the Fatherland Front.

If our people have given such a majority to the Workers' Party (Communists), they have done so because they want to have the survivals of fascism in our country done away with energetically and radically, as the decisions of the Yalta Conference stipulate.

If our people have voted for the Workers' Party (Communists) in their great majority, they have done so because they wish to have big, profiteering and parasitic capital eliminated from the nation's economy and impetus given to the nation's economy and the people's initiative towards peak development.

If the Bulgarian people voted for the Workers' Party (Communists) on October 27, they did so because they wish to have the consolidation of the Bulgarian Army firmly and resolutely continued, so as to make it a really people's army, forever linked with the people.

If the people voted for the Workers' Party (Communists) did so because they wish to have a really people's Constitution created on the basis of that draft of the Fatherland Front, which the people themselves approved at the polls.

The people have given the majority to the Fatherland Front, and the Workers' Party (Communists) in particular, because they are convinced that this is the best way to bring to an end the sacred fight for the right to independent national existence of our nation and country. The struggle

in defence of our just national cause should be brought to a successful end.

For all this, it is necessary to have a government which shall be able to wage such a struggle, and to wage it without hesitation.

The moment has come when it is necessary to act resolutely and firmly, without hesitation, and of course, wisely and prudently. The future cannot belong to the timid and hesitant, to people and nations with weak nerves. The future cannot belong to people and nations who in stormy weather lose nerve and self-control, lose mind and heart. Such people and nations can have no future. The future belongs to those who are well aware that after each storm is over, the sun will shine brighter and that the air will be much fresher.

Another question of interest to you is how the results of the elections for the Grand National Assembly will be received abroad.

There can be no doubt that the elections were held quietly, legally and in good order. You have seen for yourselves that the people expressed their will freely. This will has not been falsified. As to the opposition, however, to the votes it obtained, there can be no doubt that foreign pressure, the confusion created by the assertion that if the Fatherland Front won, Bulgaria would not obtain a favourable peace treaty, that heavy reparations would be imposed on us, that Bulgarian territory might be torn off, that the British and the Americans would denounce the armistice treaty, and so on – there can be no doubt whatever that all this induced part of the electors to vote for the opposition.

I can declare with a pure conscience and sense of responsibility before you, as representatives of international public opinion, that certain foreign representatives in Sofia and their collaborators were among the active agitators of the opposition in Bulgaria. It is no secret that they did this in various ways – by encouraging and supporting the opposition against the Fatherland Front, against its government. Naturally, all this cannot be in the spirit of the policy and in the interests of the nations which

they represent. This is a rather doubtful service to their countries. As you know from the fable, when the bear wanted to help her sleeping master and remove the fly from his forehead, she took a stone to hit the fly, but smashed her master's head too. Even if we admit that the intentions of these representatives were noble and honest, the results are like that of the bear.

In my opinion, there can be no doubt that the results of the elections for the Grand National Assembly will be welcomed with admiration by all progressive, democratic forces in the world. They will see in these results a contribution to the restoration and consolidation of world democracy and of lasting peace among nations – a Bulgarian contribution. These results will be hailed by our Slav brothers – Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and especially the Soviet Union, as results beneficial to democracy and peace.

But there is one category of circles, one category of owners of pound sterling, dollars, trusts, cartels and combines, who would like to have in the Balkans, and in Bulgaria in particular, such a contingent of agents through whom they could enslave the Balkans and Bulgaria first economically and then politically. This category of circles will be dissatisfied with the results of the elections, they will be embittered against the Fatherland Front, against Bulgaria and especially against the communists. Parallel with this category there is also another one – various journalists and publicists, some of whom are so capable that they can write articles to order, tailoring them the way they are asked to. They will now write a great deal again, they will clamour against what they will call 'Irregular elections'. They will write so, because they will be paid for it. They will clamour against a 'communist dictatorship', which does not exist. These publicists and journalists are of the old type. Fortunately, the new generation of democratic journalists are honest and conscientious on the whole. And I am delighted to have here as my visitors precisely such journalists, who express public opinion in their countries in the latter way.

Another question is, what attitude will the official

circles, mainly the governments of Britain and America, take towards Bulgaria after the last elections?

As you know, the negative attitude towards the Bulgarian Government, towards the Fatherland Front was mainly based on the claim that our Government was not sufficiently representative, that Bulgaria was governed by a minority under the name of Fatherland Front and that the Bulgarian people in their great majority sided with the opposition. For this reason, they said, we cannot recognize a government which represents a minority, while the majority is opposed to it.

Now it can be expected, there are grounds to believe, that Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Bevin, as well as other statesmen, will give ear to the language of figures, to the results of the elections for a Grand National Assembly and will reassess the facts – for facts are things which strike the eye. They will have to admit that the results of the elections for a Grand National Assembly have shown that the Fatherland Front has over 70 per cent of the voters in Bulgaria on its side, and 70 per cent is more than 20 per cent, it is a majority. They will have to admit that the deputies of the Fatherland Front represent the overwhelming majority, that the opposition represents less than a quarter, that three quarters side with the Fatherland Front.

It follows that now, after the elections, it should be easier and more possible for the American and British Governments to change their attitude towards new Bulgaria. A big barrier has been passed, has been done away with. And if the British and American Governments change their attitude to Bulgaria, it will be possible to normalize our relations with these two great countries, because in our country, in our nation there has always been a sincere desire to normalize these relations.

Although we are a small nation, we believe that we have the right to lay a small claim with respect to this normalization – that our national and state sovereignty be not impaired, that we be left to arrange our modest home quietly, as the interests and will of our people demand, that no one try to impose dictates and exert influence on our country, that there be an attitude of mutual respect,

respect both of our interests and theirs, that matters be settled in the spirit of the Yalta Declaration, beneath which both the British and American representatives have put their signatures. As you know, the Yalta Declaration provides that every nation should be given the right to have the kind of government it desires, without any pressure, any foreign suggestions, after its own choice.

In a few words, the results of the elections are of great international significance for Bulgaria. They clear the way for normalizing and setting Bulgaria's international situation. They will help Bulgaria obtain a favourable and just peace treaty.

In any case, one thing is beyond dispute about us: we shall always struggle for freedom, for national independence, for the right to independent national existence. The Bulgarian people, as I have stated before, will not fall on their knees. They will not fall before any threats, because these people have lived, grown up and learned a continuous struggle for freedom and existence.

I shall answer one more question raised in connection with the results of the elections for a Grand National Assembly.

What political analysis can be made of the votes, obtained in the elections by the opposition?

Out of all 4,300,000 electors who went to the polls, only 1,200,000 cast their votes for the opposition. These can be classified in the following way: first – big capitalists, profiteers, reactionaries, pro-fascists, people who helped the Germans pillage Bulgaria, who stand for the past, for a set-back at all and every cost; and second – people with weak nerves. The rest of the electors, the great majority of our people, held out. The great majority of the electors said: 'We shall stay here, standing straight on our feet, and shall always stand straight, because our well-being and the well-being of our children are at stake.'

I shall add here, by way of self-criticism, that part of the electors, who voted for the opposition, have been prompted to do so by a certain personal discontent and embitterment.

It should not be forgotten that our democracy is new.

Our government is a new one. Our rulers are learning how to rule in the interest of the people. And there are tremendous difficulties in our country. Our land was pillaged by the Germans. The fundamental consumer goods and raw materials were taken away. Last year we had the misfortune of a serious drought and we had to make great efforts to pool our resources and save the population from famine and the livestock from starvation. We coped with this situation to a large extent thanks to the aid of 70 million kg of food which the Soviet Unions sent us. We still have our difficulties. In the second half of this year we had a new drought. The potatoes, beans, maize, sunflower and sugar beet were affected by it. These difficulties in our food supply make it impossible to provide the entire population with all that it needs. We are forced to ration the available food supplies and other consumer goods so as to give priority to those sections of the population working at factories, mines, enterprises, in transport, in the fields, and so on, to those who are engaged in difficult physical jobs, and to those who are working at offices, etc. The remaining part of the population receives less. This part is, naturally, dissatisfied. It was precisely a certain number of this dissatisfied part which voted for the opposition.

Certain slips have also been made in the rationing system. There still are wreckers and enemies in the state apparatus itself, who are trying to discredit the Fatherland Front Government. This is another source of discontent for another part of the population.

In the third place, some of our young leaders took liberties, made deviations, especially in the field of economic life. A number of restrictions imposed on farmers and other producers, depriving them of the opportunity of selling their products on the free market, were considered quite reasonable, but were in fact unnecessary. The country could do without them.

The opposition fanned and is fanning this discontent to promote its diabolical designs. It can be said without any exaggeration that at least half of the votes cast for the opposition are the result of such discontent and bitterness.

But now the Fatherland Front and its Government will use this lesson, they will use the signal given by the results of the elections to reduce these mistakes to the minimum and to have them corrected speedily.

There can be no doubt that one half of the electors who cast votes for the opposition will return to the Fatherland Front in a few months and will not side with the enemies of the Fatherland Front any more.

The opposition, which for a period of one year will have about a hundred deputies in the National Assembly, will actually have two times less followers in the towns and villages, as a result of the gradually improving material standards of country and the correction of the errors allowed to occur in the past.

We communists are firmly resolved to improve the situation in our country, to establish law and order, to secure condition for creative labour and progress.

In conclusion, let me say: a communist dictatorship in Bulgaria is absolutely out of the question, although members of our opposition and foreign agents threaten the people with it. On the contrary, the Fatherland Front will take a still more active part in the management of state and social affairs.

The Fatherland Front and the communists in particular are ambitious to make of the People's Republic of Bulgaria an exemplary, model republic. In this respect Bulgaria will vie with the fraternal Slav countries — Yugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

We are sure, we are perfectly sure that we shall achieve this.

*Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 253
October 31, 1946*

*G. Dimitrov, Works
Vol. 12, pp. 379-389
Published by the BCP, 1954*

TEN OVERALL IMPERATIVES

From the Bulgarian people's vote in the elections of October 27 ensue for all Fatherland Front parties and social organizations, for all Bulgarian patriots a number of categorical imperatives. The most important of these imperatives can briefly be formulated in the following ten points:

First. To continue resolutely and without hesitation the democratic and peaceful policy pursued heretofore by the Fatherland Front, the struggle for the Bulgarian people's right to a free, independent national existence, and in defence of their national cause – conclusion of a just and favourable peace treaty.

Second. To carry on resolutely and without hesitation the ideological and political struggle for liquidating the survivals of fascism, for taming reaction, and for ending immediately arbitrary behaviour and lawlessness on the part of whoever it may be, in order to establish complete democratic order, freedom and lawfulness in the country.

Third. To carry on resolutely and without hesitation measures for implementing the Fatherland Front programme, the rehabilitation and development of national economy, the mechanization and development of agriculture, the industrialization and electrification of the country, in order to guarantee as soon as possible an improvement of the living and cultural standards of the broad masses of workers, peasants, craftsmen and intellectuals.

Fourth. To pursue resolutely and without hesitation the policy of eliminating from the nation's economy all profiteering and parasitic capital, and co-ordinating private capital and private enterprise with the general interests of the people, so as to guarantee the proper development of the Bulgarian home industry.

Fifth. To carry on resolutely and without hesitation with the consolidation of the state administration, public and cultural institutions, educational institutions and courses, so that they may fully accomplish their popular task.

Sixth. To carry on resolutely and without hesitation measures to secure law and order in the country, so that the people may unfold all their creative initiatives, abilities and forces without restraint. In the meantime, speedily to remove the existing shortcomings in setting production quotas and provisioning of the population, and all harmful deviations and arbitrary and illegal actions against labour, private enterprise and citizens' property.

Seventh. To carry on resolutely and without hesitation with the nation's public health and social welfare policy, especially with respect to mother and child care.

Eighth. To pass through the Grand National Assembly a really progressive Constitution of our People's Republic, based on the draft elaborated by the Fatherland Front.

Ninth. To carry on without hesitation the strengthening of our army and its military capacity as a people's army, linked forever with the people, a true guard of our national freedom and independence, of our boundaries.

Tenth. To continue resolutely and without hesitation strengthening the co-operation among the Fatherland Front parties and social organizations, promoting mutual respect, avoiding all external interference in their internal affairs, strengthening the Fatherland Front's unity as an invincible union of workers, peasants, craftsmen and people's intelligentsia, directing the fate of the Bulgarian people, mainstay of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

*Rabotnichesko Delo, No. 254
November 1, 1946*

*G. Dimitrov, Works
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NOTES

Moratorium – a deterrent, or suspension of payment, usually under extraordinary circumstances, such as war pestilence, natural calamities, etc. Hitler, to win over the middling and small peasant masses, proclaimed a moratorium of their debts to the state at the very beginning of his rule, but failed to fulfil his promise.

2. *Tsarist Okhrana* – gendarme institution in Tsarist Russia, set up at the Police Department in 1881 to combat the revolutionary movement, dissolved during the February Bourgeois Democratic Revolution in 1917.

3. In the autumn of 1922, the reactionary government of Seipel, President of the Christian-Social Party and agent of big business, the landowners and the Vatican, concluded a pact with the German National Party for the establishment of a government of the so-called anti-Marxist front, which would comprise all the reactionary forces in the struggle against the workers' movement.

4. Referring to the programme adopted by the Congress of the Social-Democratic Party in Linz.

5. *Schutzbund* – Social-Democratic para-military organization in Austria.

6. The Social-Democratic Government of Braun and Severing ruled Prussia from 1920 to 1932, pursuing a policy inimical to the Communist Party and the working masses, suppressing the Red Front mass organization, using police force to smash every action of the proletariat and forming an armed force of the bourgeoisie. When von Papen organized a coup d'état in Prussia in July 1932, overthrowing the Social-Democratic Government, Braun and Severing, although they had armed forces at their disposal, ignominiously capitulated together with the other leaders of the German Social-Democratic party.

7. *Reichsbanner* – 'Union of the Imperial Banner', para-military Social-Democratic mass organization in Germany.

8. On the pretext that a 'second revolution' for the overthrow of Hitler was being prepared, on the eve of June 30, 1934, the entire leadership of the SA organization of storm troops was

arrested and its chief commanders including Minister Röhm, who headed the SA, were shot on the spot. The operation was conducted under the personal direction of Hitler in München and of Goering in Berlin. Several thousand commanders were arrested, and the SA was temporarily dissolved, to be radically purged and reorganized. Hitler was forced to this measure under the direct pressure of big business, so as to put an end to the demagogic propaganda of a 'second revolution' and to destroy its petty bourgeois advocates among the SA.

9. *Stronnictwo Ludowe* (People's Party) – a democratic agrarian party in Poland, defending the interests mainly of the well-to-do peasants, headed the general strike of the peasant masses in August 1937 under the pressure of the local peasants' organizations.

10. *Kraft durch Freude* (Strength through Joy) – a mass fascist organization in Nazi Germany, aimed at the fascization of workers and their training for future soldiers.

11. *Dopo lavoro* – 'After work' – organization in Italy similar to *Kraft durch Freude* (See note 10).

12. *De Man* – one of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party in Belgium, on whose orders he drafted in 1933 the so-called 'Plan of de Man', envisaging a 'peaceful transition to socialism', which was adopted as the official party programme at the end of 1933.

13. The National-Liberation Alliance – a mass anti-fascist organization formed at the beginning of 1935 in Brazil by progressive political parties and organizations headed by the Communist Party, defeated in an armed struggle against reaction in November 1935.

14. *Lerroux, Alexandro Garcia* – Spanish politician and leader of the Republican Radical Party. Minister of Foreign Affairs of the first Republican government after the proclamation of the Republic of April 1931, sided with Franco during the fascist uprising.

15. *Robles, Gil* – Spanish reactionary statesman, minister in the Lerroux Government.

16. Referring to the defeat of the German revolution in 1918-1923, the defeat of the revolutionary movement in Austria in 1934, and the defeat of the workers' revolutions in Asturias (Spain) in 1934.

17. Casado, agent of British, French and American imperialism, commander of the Madrid army during the Spanish Civil War. Relying on the right-wing socialists, Trotskyites, anarchists and other unstable elements, together with Miaja and

Besteiro, he set up the treacherous Junta of National Defence which engaged in an open struggle against the Republican Government. On March 5 and 6, 1939, it seized power in Madrid, thereby stabbing the Spanish Republic in the back and paving the way for the final victory of the Franco fascists.

18. Besteiro, one of the leaders of the Spanish Socialist Party. After the proclamation of the Republic in 1931, he was elected president of the Constituent Assembly. From the onset of his political career he pursued a policy of coalition with the ruling classes, opposing the red trade unions and the Communist Party. During the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) he acted as a British agent and together with Miaja and Casado actively participated in the Junta of National Defence.

19. Miaja, right-wing Social Democrat, head of the Junta (see note No. 17)

20. The Münich Pact on the carving up of Czechoslovakia, signed on September 30, 1938 by Chamberlain, Daladier, Hitler and Mussolini. Its aim was to channel the Nazi aggression eastwards – against the USSR.

21. Reference is made to the Second International.

22. Reference is made to the Amsterdam International.

23. The 7th. Comintern Congress (July 25-August 25, 1935) is known in history as the congress of the victory of socialism in the USSR and of the struggle for a united workers' front and a broad people's front against fascism and war.

The main report *The Offensive of Fascism and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle for the Unity of the Working Class against Fascism* was delivered by Georgi Dimitrov. Palmiro Togliatti (Ercoli) reported on *The Tasks of the Communist International in Connection with the Preparation of a New World War by the Imperialists*. A report was also delivered on the results of socialist construction in the USSR. At the 7th Congress Georgi Dimitrov was elected Secretary General of the Comintern.

24. Reference is made to the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71)

25. Having joined the Axis under the pressure of Germany and Italy, the Bulgarian government had to break relations with Great Britain and the USA and declare war on them. On December 13, 1941 the Bulgarian government's declaration of war on Great Britain and the USA was approved by the fascist National Assembly.

26. Under the pressure of the masses and the threat of a Nazi invasion of Great Britain, on August 14, 1941 the governments of Great Britain and the USA signed the Atlantic Charter

which recognized the sovereignty of nations and proclaimed the necessity for an all-out war against fascism.

On September 24, 1941, the USSR also signed the Atlantic Charter.

On January 1, 1942, the signatories of the Atlantic Charter signed the UN Declaration in Washington. After the war the American and British governments refused to abide by the principles of the Atlantic Charter, as shown in particular by the US aggressive policy in the Far East: Korea, Vietnam, Laos, the Dominican Republic, the Congo, etc.

27. The Note of the Soviet People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of March 3, 1941 was delivered as soon as Filov's government signed the treaty whereby Bulgaria joined the fascist bloc (March 1, 1941).

28. A. Sobolev, Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs, sent by the Soviet Government to Bulgaria in December 1940, proposed a pact of friendship and mutual aid. The Bulgarian Government, headed by Filov, rejected the proposal. The Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) organized a nationwide campaign for the acceptance of the Soviet proposal. This campaign had a strong impact on the further development of the Bulgarian people's struggle against the Nazi invaders and the Bulgarian monarcho-fascists.

29. Reference is made to the entry of the German forces into Bulgaria on March 1, 1941 and its transformation into a bridgehead for attacks first against Yugoslavia and Greece and then against the Soviet Union.

30. The victories of the Red Army in 1943 enabled the allies to defeat the Italo-German army in North Africa, to make a landing in South Italy (in the summer of the same year) and to start their northward offensive. Italy was defeated. Mussolini fled and the new government of Marshal Badoglio declared war on Germany on October 13.

31. G. Dimitrov has in mind: Bogdan Filov, Prime Minister up to August 28, 1943, regent, fascist and a royal stooge up to September 9, 1944, who was sentenced to death by the People's Court, Nikola Zhekov, commander-in-chief during the First World War, one of the culprits for Bulgaria's national disaster, an old agent of the German Kaiser's imperialism and later of Nazism and Alexander Tsankov, leader of the Bulgarian fascists, organizer of the June 9, 1923 coup d'état, cut-throat, murderer and a fascist stooge.

32. The Moscow Conference of the Foreign Commissar of the USSR, and the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain and the USA

was held between October 19 and 30, 1943. It took decisions on speeding up military operations and on co-operation in the postwar period. It adopted a declaration on general security and another one on the responsibility of the fascists for the crimes perpetrated by them.

33. The Teheran Conference of the Big Three was held from November 28 to December 1, 1943 in Teheran, Iran. In the declaration published subsequently the leaders of the USSR, Great Britain and the USA stated that they had coordinated the plan for the defeat of the German Armed forces and 'had reached full agreement on the scale and terms of the operations to be carried out the East, West and South.'

The Teheran Conference adopted important decisions on Anglo-American-Soviet co-operation in the postwar period, decisions which were subsequently flagrantly violated by Great Britain and in particular by the USA.

34. Ivan Bagryanov, big landowner, bourgeois politician, fascist agent and a great demagogue. He was Minister of Agriculture (1938-41) and then Prime Minister from June 1 to September 2, 1944. His coming to power in 1944 at a time when the monarcho-fascist dictatorship was tottering, following the success of the partisan forces and the victories of the Red Army on the Eastern Front, was carefully considered and coordinated with Berlin. It was to serve as a cover-up for the attempts of the Bulgarian ruling bourgeoisie to gain time, to sow illusions among the Bulgarian people on a change in the political course and, through demagogy, to divert the working people from their armed struggle until Hitler had signed a separate peace treaty with the Western countries and a turn in course of the war had been effected.

On June 2, 1944 Bagryanov's plans were exposed by the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) in a broadcast over the Hristo Botev radio-station and brought to naught. Bagryanov continued the policy of terror pursued by the former governments.

After September 9, 1944, the People's Court sentenced Bagryanov to death.

35. In June 1944, at the height of the Red Army offensive, when it had become perfectly clear that as a result of its victories the situation had thoroughly changed and the Soviet Union was able single-handedly to defeat and occupy Germany, and to liberate France, the armies of Great Britain and the USA landed in France and opened a Second Front.

36. In the summer of 1944, when it had become clear that

Germany had lost the war, a group of high-ranking German officers tried to assassinate Hitler, hoping to conclude peace with the Western allies and to avert the coming to power of democratic forces. The attempt failed.

37. Reference is made to the talks with the Bulgarian economic delegation (January 14, 1945) which had gone to Moscow to carry out trade negotiations with the USSR.

38. The Congress of the Fatherland Front was held in March 1945.

The resolution on the activity of the National Committee and the local committees of the Fatherland Front approved the general line of the policy and activity of the Fatherland Front movement and recommended that a home and foreign policy should be firmly and unflinchingly followed which fully corresponds to the interests of the Bulgarian people.

The congress pointed out that it was necessary to mobilize all forces and creative initiatives as well as all our country's resources for the steady realization of the beneficial programme of the Fatherland Front for Bulgaria's all-round economic, political, cultural and military progress; it pointed to the necessity of strengthening our people's vigilance towards the overt and covert enemies of the Fatherland Front and of still further consolidating the militant political unity of the Fatherland Front.

The congress addressed to the Bulgarian people a manifesto in which the main undertakings for realizing the salutary programme of the Fatherland Front were mapped out.

39. According to Greek mythology Scylla and Charybdis were two female monsters personifying a rock on the Italian coast opposite the whirlpool Charybdis, which destroyed every ship that happened to pass between them; hence Scylla and Charybdis – danger threatening one from two sides.

40. Nikola Moushanov, prominent member of the Democratic Party, Minister of Public Buildings in Malinov's second government (October 17 – November 28, 1918), Minister of Home Affairs in Todorov's government (1918-19) and Prime Minister (1932-34) As Prime Minister Moushanov refused to recognize the Bulgarian citizenship of Dimitrov after the latter's brilliant victory at the Reichstag Fire Trial. After September 9, 1944, Moushanov was among the foremost opponents of the people's rule.

41. Reference is made to the reactionary newspaper *Narodno Zemedelsko Znamé*, known as *Zeleno Znamé*, published by the opposition group in the Agrarian Union.

42. The newspaper *Svoboden Narod* was published by the opposition Social-Democratic Party in 1945-46.

43. The newspaper *Znamé*, organ of the Democratic Party.

44. The Fatherland Front, the largest socio-political organization, was composed of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), the Agrarian Union, the Social-Democratic Party, the ZVENO Popular Union and the Radical Party.

45. Reference is made to the speech delivered by Georgi Dimitrov on November 15, 1945, in connection with the elections of November 18, 1945.

46. The Yalta Conference of the Big Three, represented by Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill, was held from February 4 to 12, 1945. A military plan was drawn up and coordinated on the forthcoming operations for the final defeat of Germany, as well as a programme for its military, economic and political disarmament which called for disbanding all German military forces, the liquidation of its war industry, the prompt and just punishment of war criminals and the banning of all fascist organizations and institutions. To maintain peace and security a decision was taken to create with all allied states an organization of the united nations.

After the war these decisions were systematically disregarded by the USA and Great Britain.

47. The Potsdam Conference was held from July 17 to August 2, 1945. Stalin, Truman and Churchill, and after July 28 Attlee took part in it. The decisions of the conference were aimed at consolidating the historic victory over Nazi Germany and at securing a lasting and just peace. A decision was taken to create a Council of the Foreign Ministers of the USSR, USA, Great Britain, France and China. At the Potsdam Conference an agreement was reached on the political and economic principles of coordinating the allied policy with regard to Germany. Subsequently, however, the USA and Great Britain sabotaged and disregarded the Potsdam decisions.

48. The London Conference or the first session of the Council of Foreign Ministers opened in London on September 11, 1945. Its basic task was to draft peace treaties with Germany, Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland.

Disregarding the decisions of the Potsdam Conference, the American Foreign Secretary Byrnes, and the British Foreign Secretary Bevin insisted that not only the signatories of the surrender documents but also other countries involved in the war should take part in the preparation of the peace treaties. The Soviet delegation, adhering firmly to the decisions of the con-

ference, did not accept their proposal. The first session of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in London was interrupted and failed to finish its work.

49. The San Francisco Conference called by the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and China was held from April 25 to June 26, 1945. The governments of 42 countries which had signed the UN Charter or had supported it and declared war on the Axis countries were subsequently also invited. The conference decided that the governments of the Byelorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR should also take part in it. Molotov's proposal to invite Poland was rejected.

The only item on the agenda of the Conference was to draft the charter of an international organization for maintaining peace and security. The UN Charter came into force on October 24, 1945.

50. The Moscow Conference of the Soviet, American and British Ministers of Foreign Affairs was held from December 16 to 26, 1945. Convened in accordance with the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences, it issued a special Information of the Moscow Conference, published on December 28, 1945, which settled a number of questions connected with the organization of peace in Europe and the Far East.

The question about the procedure of the preparation of the peace treaties with Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland was settled on the basis of the decisions taken at the Potsdam Conference and in accordance with Soviet views.

51. The agrarian economic community was founded under a law of November 19, 1935. At the congress of agrarian communities (February 14, 1937) a General Union of Bulgarian Farmers was set up, a constitution adopted and a central board elected. In December 1944 the General Union of Bulgarian Farmers was disbanded and a new union, the General Agrarian Trade Union was set up, which existed up to 1950. The latter set itself the task of uniting all men and women farmers in the country, of defending their economic, cultural and educational interests, of seeing to the development of Bulgarian agriculture and its different branches, of educating the farmers in a spirit of solidarity with the fraternal unions of the manual and intellectual workers and the co-operative agrarian movement for a united struggle of peasants and workers, and of assisting the people's rule which was implementing a programme and pursuing a policy in the interest of the working farmers.

52. John Mack, left-wing Labour member of the British

Parliament, who arrived in Sofia on April 10, 1946, to familiarize himself with the political situation in Bulgaria.

53. Harold Lasky, professor, Chairman of the Labour Party in Great Britain. In May 1946 he published a special propaganda pamphlet, *The Secret Battalion*, enjoining the delegates to the Labour Party Conference to vote against the entry of the British Communist Party into the Labour movement.

54. Lasky preferred to keep quiet rather than answer that open letter which obviously had put him on the spot.

55. Alexander Stamboliiski (1879-1923), prominent Bulgarian politician, leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union. The ideology of the union and its leader, Stamboliiski, was petty bourgeois. A particular feature of this ideology was the conviction that, since the peasants constituted 80 per cent of the country's population, an independent agrarian rule could be established. To the class struggle of the workers and their communist ideology, Stamboliiski opposed the petty bourgeois class ideology.

Stamboliiski's ideology was based on capitalist principles: he thought that the evils of capitalism could be eliminated through co-operation. Among the peasant masses, however, he was known as a fighter against the personal regime of King Ferdinand, against monarchy, and for a republic. During the First World War Stamboliiski boldly opposed Bulgaria's joining the Central Powers, and was sentenced to life imprisonment. After the defeat of the Bulgarian army at Dobro Polé (Macedonia) he was set free, and took part in the proclamation of the Radomir Republic. As Prime Minister (1919-23) he took a number of measures aimed against big capital. During the fascist June 9, 1923 coup d'état he was brutally murdered.

56. The official solemn workers' evening in honour of the trade union delegations which had arrived in Bulgaria in connection with the referendum on the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a People's Republic was presided over by Raiko Damyanov. It was attended by the representatives of the trade union organizations in the people's democracies - Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Albania - as well as by a French delegation headed by Benoit Frachon, Secretary General of the World Confederation of Labour (CGT), Albert Bousnacé, Secretary of the CGT, Olga Turnatti of the Metal Workers' Union, Zilliacus of the British Labour Party as well as by many foreign journalists.

The journalists who had come to observe the development of a referendum got convinced in the Bulgarian people's will to vote

for a republic and in a telegram, adopted at a conference organized by the Press Department, exposed the BBC lies about the way in which the referendum was held. The telegram was signed not only by representatives of the progressive press, but also by those of the bourgeois press: *Observer* - London, *New York Times*, *Daily Herald*, *Daily Express*, *Associated Press*, etc.

57. Konni Zilliacus, British Labour M. P., arrived in Bulgaria on the occasion of the Second Anniversary of the September 9 Uprising to familiarize himself with the changes which had taken place in the intervening years.

On his return to England, together with John Mack, he defended Bulgaria in the British Parliament.

58. The court session of the International Military Tribunal, composed of representatives of the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and France, at which major war criminals were to trial, was held in Nürenberg from November 20, 1945 to October 1, 1946. Nineteen persons were found guilty, of whom 12 were sentenced to death (Goering, Ribbentrop, Keitel, Rosenberg, etc.), seven to different terms of imprisonment and three were acquitted. The Soviet representative, Major-General I. T. Nikitchenko reserved his opinion on the acquittal of Schacht, von Papen and Fritche, Hess's life sentence and the refusal to recognize the organizations of the government and the general staff of the nazi armed forces supreme command as criminals.

59. Georgi Dimitrov hints at the fact that in drafting the new Constitution the opposition insisted on basing it on the bourgeois constitutions of Switzerland, France and Belgium.

GEORGI DIMITROV
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